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New Chapters in the
History of Greek Literature

New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature

SECOND SERIES

SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES IN GREEK POETRY AND PROSE, CHIEFLY OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C. AND LATER TIMES

EDITED BY

J. U. POWELL AND E. A. BARBER

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PREFACE

THE approval which was given by scholars to our First Series published in 1921 has encouraged us to continue the work, and we hope that in the two series together we have given an account of most of the chief accessions to the Greek literature of our period which have been published up to the present time. The reasons for choosing this period are given in the Preface to the First Series. But as new accessions continue to be made, so fresh criticism continues to appear; and even while the book was passing through the Press, we observed instances of this (for the subject is living and growing), but it was too late to incorporate them.

We must apologize if we have trespassed too far into the period A. D.; if we have, it was to render the treatment of the subject more complete. We have also added in an Appendix an article on the recent accessions to the Hesiodic poems, in order to summarize the important work which has been done on them in England and in other countries.

As in the First Series, while we have exercised a general supervision of the articles, we have allowed each of our contributors to treat his subject in his own way, and hence slight repetition here and there was unavoidable. We have to express our thanks to them, and also to several other scholars; *imprimis* to Professor Hunt for his unfailing interest and assistance; next to Mr. A. D. Knox, Mr. E. Lobel, Mr. R. McKenzie,

9213

Mr. H. J. M. Milne, Professor E. B. Poulton, and Mr. M. N. Tod, who have placed their learning liberally at our disposal. But our chief debt of gratitude is due to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for their continued approval and support.

J. U. P.
E. A. B.

CONTENTS

Preface v
List of Contributors viii

POETRY

1. The new fragments of Callimachus . . E. A. Barber 1
2. Menander . . . . . G. Murray 9
3. Later Epic Poetry . . . . . J. U. Powell 35
4. New Epigrams from Inscriptions of the fourth and following centuries B. C. . . . J. U. Powell 47
5. Additions to the chapters on Later Lyric Poetry and the Moralists in the First Series J. U. Powell 60

PROSE

1. New fragments of Historical Works . . E. M. Walker 65
   Timachidas . . . . . G. C. Richards 76
   Addendum: A Catalogue of a Rhodian Library . . . . . J. U. Powell 83
2. Διάλογος, Διατριβή, Μελέτη . . W. M. Edwards 88
3. Letter-writing:
   The Papyri of Zenon . . . . C. C. Edgar 125
   Letters of private persons . . C. J. Ellingham 134
4. The Arts:
   Greek Music in the Papyri and Inscriptions . . . . . J. F. Mountford 146
   Medicine: the Ἰατρικά of Menon . E. T. Withington 183

APPENDICES

1. Recent accessions to the Poetry of the Boeotian School (Hesiodea) . . . J. U. Powell 189
2. On two lists of Philosophical works . . J. U. Powell 211
3. On the proposed identification of Kanarese in Oxyrh. Pap. No. 413 in 'New Chapters', First Series, p. 121 . . . . . E. P. Rice 215
4. Corrections of the First Series 224

INDEX 225

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POETRY

I

CALLIMACHUS

NEW light continues to be shed on the poetry and personality of Callimachus by the publication of further fragments from his writings, derived from the papyri. It is true that often the material thus furnished is tantalizing in its incompleteness, and that in most cases the reconstructions of earlier scholars are refuted by the new discoveries ('reconstruction' is particularly difficult in dealing with an author who made it a principle never to write as the reader might reasonably suppose that he would); nevertheless, though we still grope in the twilight, we can be grateful to the papyri that it is no longer a *νὺξ ἄπορος* which surrounds us.

Since 1921 Oxyrhynchus has contributed additions to the fragments of Callimachus on two occasions. The earlier but less interesting publication represents to all appearance a branch of the poet's activity of which little has been otherwise preserved, to wit the 'occasional' elegies which, as Poet Laureate of the day, he was called upon to compose for the Ptolemies and their court. Such elegies no doubt first saw the light separately like the *Idylls* of Theocritus; later either Callimachus himself or more probably some successor, corresponding to Artemidorus and Theon, the editors of Theocritus, made a collection of these stray pieces. The meagre remains of his collection lie before us in our papyrus from Oxyrhynchus.[1] This, it seems, contains fragments from at least three elegies, viz. (1) the original of Catullus' *Coma Berenices*, (2) another elegy mentioning Berenice and her father Magas, (3) the elegiac *Epinikion* addressed to Sosibius. Only a few mutilated lines survive from the first and second of these poems, but the 'Victory of Sosibius' (we owe the title to the scholiast on Lycophron, *Alex.* 522) is better preserved.

[1] *Oxyrh. Pap.* xv. 1793.

92.13

There has been considerable debate regarding the identity of the Sosibius in question. Professor Hunt, the original editor of the papyrus, was inclined to identify him with a Sosibius of Tarentum mentioned by Josephus[1] as a captain of the body-guard of Philadelphus; Wilamowitz and other scholars pin their faith to a statement of Athenaeus,[2] who after referring to a tract on 'Kingship' addressed by Theophrastus to Cassander (*ob.* 297 B. C.) adds that many attribute the work to Sosibius 'for whom the poet Callimachus composed an *Epinikion* in elegiacs'. Both these identifications, but especially the second, demand that we should date the poem very early in Callimachus' life, and Wilamowitz unconvincingly claims that such dating is confirmed by the internal evidence of the poet's style and attitude towards his patron. There can, however, be little doubt that Herzog[3] and Beloch[4] are right in maintaining that the addressee of Callimachus was the notorious Grand Vizier of Ptolemy IV (Philopator) who won the battle of Raphia in 217 B. C., and is pilloried by Polybius[5] as the 'false guardian' (ψευδεπίτροπος) of the young heir of Philopator. The father of the minister, as we know from inscriptions, was called Dioscurides, and no doubt Call. Fr. 192

ἱερά, νῦν δὲ Διοσκουριδέω γενεή

belongs to the poem that we are discussing. This Sosibius died at an advanced age shortly after 202 B. C., and was therefore, it seems, not born much before 270 B. C., but the probable date of some of the inscriptions which mention his name and the references of Polybius to his career make it likely that he was already a figure of some importance under the third Ptolemy and even as early as 240 B. C.

It appears probable then that Callimachus wrote his congratulatory elegy in the forties of the third century; if so, the 'Victory of Sosibius' like the *Coma Berenices*, the Hymn to Apollo, several epigrams, even possibly (see below) the *Aetia*,

[1] *Ant.* xii. 2. 2. [2] iv, p. 144 *e*.
[3] *Philol.* lxxix. 4, pp. 424–5; ib. lxxxii. 1, pp. 61–3.
[4] *Griech. Gesch.*[2] iv. 2, pp. 589–90. Athenaeus, *loc. cit.*, has confused the statesman with his namesake, the Lacedaemonian grammarian, designated λυτικός or ἐπιλυτικός, a contemporary of Philadelphus.
[5] xv. 25. 1.

furnishes proof of Callimachus' continued productivity at the very end of his life.

The particular victory or rather victories celebrated by the poet were won in the chariot-races at the Isthmian and Nemean games; in virtue of this achievement Callimachus hails his patron as

> . . . διστεφέα
> ἀμφοτέρῳ παρὰ παιδί, κασιγνήτῳ τε Λεάρχου
> καὶ τὸ Μυριναῖον τῷ γάλα θησαμένῳ

('twice-crowned hard by either child, both the brother of Learchus and the infant who was suckled with the milk of Myrina's daughter'). Even the poet's friends at the Alexandrian Museum may have been hard put to it to remember that Learchus' brother was Melicertes-Palaemon, in whose honour Sisyphus founded the Isthmian games, while the Seven against Thebes instituted the Nemean games to commemorate the death of Archemorus, who had been nursed by Hypsipyle, daughter of Myrina. Quite in the manner of the Pindaric *Epinikia* Callimachus seizes the opportunity to refer to earlier athletic successes of Sosibius; these had been achieved by him as a boy in the *diaulos* at the Ptolemaeia in Egypt, and as a very young man in wrestling at the Panathenaea and Heraea. The poet also mentions an *ex-voto* dedicated by Sosibius in the temple of Zeus Casius near Pelusium. This object Callimachus had seen with his own eyes.

The concluding lines of the fragment are curious. After praising Sosibius as

> . . . ἄρθμια δήμῳ
> εἰδότα καὶ μικρῶν οὐκ ἐπιληθόμενον

('a friend of the people and forgetting not those of low estate'), a trait, says Callimachus, not often found among the rich, unless their mind can rise superior to their good-fortune, the writer proceeds 'I will not praise him overmuch nor will I forget him, for I fear the tongue of the people in either case, lest on the one hand men say "This fellow has done nothing notable as yet"' . . . (the papyrus becomes illegible). Apparently the successes and early advancement of Sosibius, the

young Alcibiades as it were of his time, had not been won without incurring the jealousy of his fellows.

The latest additions to our knowledge of Callimachus, to wit those published in vol. xvii (1927) of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*,[1] exhibit the poet in a role more familiar than that just described, and Callimachus certainly seems more at his ease as literary critic and amateur archaeologist than as trumpeter of a courtier's victories in the games. The volume in question includes two important papyri, both containing substantial fragments of Callimachus' best known poem, the *Aetia*. The source of the second papyrus is established by the occurrence in it of several lines quoted elsewhere as from the Second Book of the *Aetia*; the first is proved to come from the pen of Callimachus by the fact that it contains an unusually large percentage of lines cited as Callimachean by grammarians, &c., and though, as it happens, none of these specifies the particular work from which he is quoting, there can be little doubt that the editor is right in assigning the passage to the Prologue of the *Aetia*. Here surely was the place for such a defence of Callimachus' poetic ideals as the first fragment of *Oxyrh. Pap.* 2079 contains.

One is sometimes tempted to think that the Alexandrian Battle of the Books (Big and Little) in which Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius figure as the protagonists has been given undue importance by modern scholars; certainly the ancients make little mention of it. But the vigour of Callimachus' polemic against his critics in the new fragment is undeniable and even disconcerting. Apollonius must have found substantial support. These heretics and their chief the outraged Callimachus twice designates as Telchines. The Telchines figuring in legend as the early inhabitants of Rhodes, it seems clear that the Prologue to the *Aetia* was written after the flight of Apollonius, who was of Egyptian origin, to that island, and in fact these lines contain other evidence that Callimachus was advanced in years when he wrote them. Thus the Telchines murmur against him, because he has not achieved one continuous poem, but makes only a slight

[1] Nos. 2079 and 2080.

roll of poetry like a child; 'yet are the decades of my years not a few' (ll. 1–6). Similarly in ll. 33 sqq. he complains of old age that lies as heavy on him as the three-pointed isle (Sicily, of course) on baneful Enceladus, and prays for the metamorphosis into a cicada once granted to Tithonus, 'in order that, as I sing, dew from the divine air may be my morning food, and I may strip myself thereafter of eld. This is my desert, for the Muses do not reject the friends, when grey-headed, whom when children they regarded not askance'.[1]

Whatever view we take as to its date, it seems unlikely that the *Aetia* was in any way intended to rank as a continuous poem (*ἄεισμα διηνεκές*) of the type admired by Callimachus' opponents. It is true that it ran to several thousand lines, and that it dealt with the doings of kings and ancient heroes, but it must have had even less 'continuity' than Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Further, Callimachus in this passage is far from conceding anything to his critics. Citing Apollo as his poetic director (compare *H. Apoll.* 105 sqq.), he bids others, if they will, bray like donkeys. He himself prefers, as we saw, to be a cicada.

[καὶ γὰρ ὅτ]ε πρ[ώ]τισ[το]ν ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
[γούνασιν,] Ἀπ[ό]λλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος·
[ἦ δέον ἄμ]μιν, ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον
[βόσκειν,[2] τὴ]ν μοῦσαν δ', ὦ 'γαθέ, λεπταλέην.
[πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ' ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι
[τὰ στείβε]ιν, ἑτέρων ἴχνια μὴ καθ' ὁμά
[δίφρον ἐλ]ᾶν μηδ' οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατὺν ἀλλὰ κελεύθους
[ξεινοτέρ]ας,[3] εἰ καὶ στε[ι]νοτέρην ἐλάσεις.
[τῷ πιθόμη]ν.[4] ἐνὶ τοῖς γὰρ ἀείδομεν οἳ λιγὺν ἦχον
[τεττίγων,[5] θ]όρυβον δ' οὐκ ἐφίλησαν ὄνων.
[θηρὶ μὲν ο]ὐατόεντι πανείκελον ὀγκήσαιτο
[ἄλλος, ἐγ]ὼ δ' εἴην οὐλ[α]χύς, ὁ πτερόεις.

'For when first I set a tablet upon my knees, Lycian Apollo said to me, "Verily it is right, my good poet, to feed me a victim to be as fat as possible, but verse should be kept slender. This command too I give you: choose the track that wagons

[1] A couplet quoted in *Epigr.* 21: perhaps interpolated there.
[2] *βόσκειν* Rostagni: *δοῦναι* Hunt.
[3] *ξεινοτέρας* Rostagni: *καινοτέρας* Hunt.
[4] *τῷ πιθόμην* Wilamowitz: *τεττίγων* Hunt.
[5] *τεττίγων* Wilamowitz: *μαίονται* Hunt.

do not tread; drive not your car along the common traces of others nor by the broad road, but more novel ways, even if your path be a narrower one." Him I obeyed, for I sing among those who are fain for the cicada's clear note, but not for the noise of asses. Let others bray after the very manner of the long-eared beast, but let me be the dainty and winged creature.'

New matter and a light touch! These are what Callimachus demands from a poet. It is certain that his sweets are not always ours, but at least he shows no lack of energy in searching for them as he flits about industriously in the garden of Greek legend and folk-lore, and, though he plays tricks with the ordinary rules,[1] his skilful handling of refractory material cannot fail to excite the reader's admiration.

Our next fragment, *Oxyrh. Pap.* 2080, consists of three columns, of which the first and the third are much mutilated, while the second is well preserved. In col. i the only passage which can now be restored with certainty is one of six lines coinciding with Fr. 106, which we owe to Stobaeus (*Flor.* 81. 8). 'For whatsoever delicate golden unguents I then bestowed upon my head together with the sweet-smelling garlands, all straightway lost their fragrance; and whatsoever entered within my teeth and passed into my thankless belly, of that too nought remained till the morrow; but what I laid within my ears, that alone abides with me as follows.' The contrast between the pleasures of the table and those of the mind recalls the scene at Pollis' dinner-party in Alexandria, described elsewhere in the *Aetia*, when Callimachus and Theugenes of Icos 'put talk in the cup to mend the tedious draught'. Personal touches of this sort seem to have been scattered up and down the poem, often serving to introduce a new subject.

In this case the topic which followed the poet's prefatory remarks appears to have been connected with the foundation of the Greek colonies in Sicily. The fragmentary remains of col. i contain the names of several Sicilian cities, and from l. 58 in col. ii (ὡς ἐφάμην) it seems that these mutilated lines and the first ten verses of col. ii formed part of a speech in which Callimachus declared that he was sufficiently informed

[1] e.g. ὅ μοι Λύκιος above (cf. Fr. 118 οἳ φασι τεκόντες).

regarding the founders of the other colonies (among them 'Cretan Minoa where the daughters of Cocalus poured boiling bath-water on the son of Europa', and 'Eryx that the mistress of the girdle loves'),

τάων οὐδεμίη γὰ[ρ ὅτ]ις πο[τὲ] τεῖχος ἔδειμε
νωνύμνη νομίμην ἔρχ[ε]τ' ἐπ' εἰλαπίνην.

('For none of these comes to the stated feast without naming the man who once built their walls'.) It is only the origin of Drepanum which is hidden from him. Clio herself intervenes to enlighten him:

ὣς ἐφάμην· Κλειὼ δὲ τὸ [δ]εύτερον ἤρχ[ετο μ]ύθ[ου
χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἀδελφείης ὦμον ἐρεισαμένη.

('So I spake; and a second time Clio began the tale, leaning her hand on her sister's shoulder'.) In a speech running to twenty-six lines the Muse tells him that the actual founders of Drepanum, Perieres and Crataemenes, quarrelled, when the walls had been built, on the question which of the two should give his name to the new city, and that on reference of the dispute to Delphi both were pronounced unfit for this honour. 'And from that time the land calls not upon its colonizer by name, but thus do the magistrates invite him to the sacrifice: "Let him who built our city come graciously to the feast, and he may bring two or more with him; of no few heifers has the blood been shed."' Encouraged by this condescension on the part of Clio, Callimachus was anxious to put other recondite problems before her, but unluckily for us the papyrus breaks off at this point. From the literary point of view the most interesting feature in this fragment is the intervention of the Muse of History. t had long been known from an anonymous epigram (*A. P.* vii. 42) and other sources that Callimachus adapting Hesiod's preface to the *Theogony* had represented himself as transported in a dream from Africa to Helicon and there instructed by the Muses in the multifarious contents of the *Aetia*, but, despite certain evidence furnished by the fragments,[1] it was not generally thought that the poet

[1] e.g. Fr. Anon. 114 τὼς δ' ἐφθέγξατο (? τὼς φθέγξατο) Καλλιόπεια; Fr. Anon. 358.

had carried this fiction beyond the preface. Here, however, Clio intervenes in the body of the work, and the natural conclusion to be drawn from τὸ δεύτερον (see above) is that either this Muse or one of her sisters has spoken shortly before. How much of the *Aetia* was staged as a conversation between Callimachus and the Muses it is impossible to say, but it appears certain that the method of question and answer which Ovid employs so often in the *Fasti* was modelled on Callimachus' device. One wonders once more how much originality would be left to the Romans if Hellenistic Poetry had survived intact.

Select Bibliography

[Note.—The new fragments of Callimachus, except of course those published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. xvii, have been re-edited by R. Pfeiffer as one of Lietzmann's Kleine Texte = *Callimachi Fragmenta Nuper Reperta*. Ed. R. Pfeiffer. Editio maior. Bonn, 1923.]

1. 'Victory of Sosibius,' &c. (*Oxyrh. Pap.* xv, pp. 98–110.) Besides the references given above and by Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 93, see also K. Fr. W. Schmidt, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1924) i–vi, pp. 7–9.

2. *Aetia*. (*Oxyrh. Pap.* xvii, pp. 45–72.)

P. Maas, *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung* (1928) 3, columns 128-131.

R. Pfeiffer, *Hermes* (1928), lxiii, pp. 302–341.

A. Rostagni, *Rivista di Filologia* (1928), *N. S.* vi, 1, pp. 1–51.

A. Vogliano, *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* (1928) 8, pp. 201–211.

Valuable assistance in restoring and interpreting Fr. 1, of *Oxyrh. Pap.* 2079 is provided by a papyrus (*Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum*, No. 181) which contains notes on this part of the *Aetia*. For a discussion of these *scholia* fuller than that given by Hunt see Rostagni's article cited above. The latter argues that the mention of an Arsinoe in col. 2 of the B. M. papyrus demands a date not later than 270 B.C. for the publication of the *Aetia*, but at present this appears unlikely; it is, however, possible, as suggested by Pfeiffer, that Callimachus re-published the *Aetia* towards the end of his life with a fighting preface, in which he replied to the criticism provoked by the first edition.

E. A. B.

II

MENANDER

MENANDER, son of Diopeithes, the chief poet of the Athenian New Comedy, is a figure difficult to understand. He was born in the year 342 B.C., forty odd years after the death of Aristophanes, sixty-four after that of Sophocles and Euripides; he must have heard Aristotle; he was on friendly terms with Epicurus; he lived practically all his life under the rule of the Macedonians, and died in 290 when the first Ptolemy was already king in Egypt and the first Seleucus in Syria. His fame was immense. He is constantly quoted by later authors, including of course St. Paul: 'Evil communications corrupt good manners.'[1] But until lately he was known only through these quotations and through the supposed imitations of his work by Plautus and Terence; even now, after the great discoveries in papyri, though we have seven hundred lines of one play and considerable remains of several more, we have no single comedy complete.

But the mystery does not come merely from lack of information. The things that we do know about Menander are hard to combine. The quotations have a quality of their own. They not only show simplicity and distinction of language; they seem also to be the expression of a refined, thoughtful, and very sympathetic mind, touched with melancholy but remarkably free from passion or sensuality. Let us consider a few:

'Whom the gods love die young.'[2]

'I am a man: nothing human is foreign to me.'[3]

'How sweet is life, can we but choose with whom to live it: to live for oneself is no life.'[4]

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 33, from Θαΐς, 218. I quote the fragments from Kock's *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, vol. iii (1888).

[2] Δὶς Ἐξαπατῶν, Fr. 125.

[3] This famous line is not extant in the Greek: the Latin version is in Terence, *Heaut.* I. i. 25.

[4] Φιλάδελφοι, 506, 507: cf. 531.

'All men have one refuge, a good friend, with whom you can weep and know that he does not smile.'[1]

'O man, pray not to the gods to be free from grief; pray to have fortitude.'[2]

A judgement on life comes out in the lines:

'We live not as we will, but as we can.' (50); (cf. 590, 604.)

'Nay, Gorgias, I call him the bravest man,
Who knows to suffer the most injuries
With patience. All this swiftness of resentment
Is proof of a little mind.' (95.)

'Do not fight against Providence; nor bring more heavy weather to the storm. Face what is there already.' (187.)

'What stings you is the lightest of all ills, Poverty.' (282); (Cf. 301 on what money can do and can not do.)

This spirit of resignation leads to a sort of theoretic anarchism or antinomianism: 'The man who does no evil needs no law.' (845.) It is character that shapes a man's life. This is expounded at length in the chief extant play, *The Arbitration* (ll. 659–72); and briefly in 594.

Fortune is no real thing.
But men who cannot bear what comes to them
In Nature's way, give their own characters
The name of Fortune.

Lastly, to keep the true savour of Menander in one's mind, there is the great passage in fr. 481:

I count it happiness,
Ere we go quickly thither whence we came,
To gaze ungrieving on these majesties,
The world-wide sun, the stars, water and clouds,
And fire. Live, Parmeno, a hundred years
Or a few months, these you will always see,
And never, never, any greater things.
Think of this life-time as a festival
Or visit to a strange city, full of noise,
Buying and selling, thieving, dicing stalls
And joy-parks. If you leave it early, friend,
Why, think you have gone to find a better inn;
You have paid your fare and leave no enemies.

[1] Incert. 543. [2] Incert. 549.

Or again:

> My son, you do not see,
> How every thing that dies, dies by its own
> Corruption: all that injures is within.
> Rust is the poison of iron, moths of wool,
> And worms of wood; in you there is a poison
> Most deadly, which has made you sick to death
> And makes and shall make—envy. (540.)

How came it that the man who writes these gentle refined thoughts, full of self-restraint and philosophy, is the chief author of the Athenian New Comedy, known to us mainly by the grotesque comic masks found on vases and frescoes, and by the rather coarse-grained and dissolute imitations of Plautus and Terence: plays in which the heroines are generally either prostitutes or girls who have illegitimate children, and the heroes worthless young rakes, while the most amusing character is often a rascally slave engaged in swindling the hero's father or uncle out of large sums of money to pay to brothel-keepers, or else in burgling the brothels themselves: in which foundlings and exposed children are recovered and recognized with bewildering monotony, and the list of stock characters so limited and mechanical, that an ancient writer on the Theatre[1] can give you a list of all the masks that a company needs to stock in order to produce any play? It all seems at first sight so coarse, so stupid and lacking in invention, so miserably shallow in its view of life.

The ordinary explanation is that Menander was just an elegant but dissipated person with a fine style but no ideals, writing for a corrupt society which had lost all its sense of freedom, religion, and public duty. Let us quote, as typical of the best current criticism, Professor Wilhelm Schmid:[2] 'While recognizing fully the aesthetic and technical merits of these plays, we must not pass over their ethical flatness, invertebracy, and lack of temperament. All forms of strength are transformed into elegance and smoothness for the amusement of a generation which can stand nothing rude or harsh, and is equally averse to all impetus, idealism, or artistic daring. . . .

[1] Pollux. *Onom.* iv, 143 sqq.
[2] Christ, *Griech. Lit.*[6] ii. 1, p. 36.

All is indulgence and hushing up, a frivolous trifling with all moral conceptions, with truth and honour ; . . . a moral twilight, in which all sound standards of value become invisible.'

Other critics have compared the New Comedy to the Comedy of the English Restoration, and Menander to Congreve or Wycherley, with their wit, their grossness, their narrow range, and their 'hearts like the nether mill-stone'. But I venture to think that all this criticism, like much else that is written about the Hellenistic period, errs through neglecting an important clue.

One cannot understand the thought of this period, especially that of the Stoic or the Epicurean school, except as a response of the human soul to an almost blinding catastrophe of defeat and disenchantment. All that a fifth-century Athenian had believed in had failed and been found wanting. The gods could neither save their worshippers nor bear the criticism of their deniers. As for Athens, her continued attempt to be a Tyrant City was ridiculous: she was barely strong enough to 'stand alone in the strenuous conditions of modern life'. She could no longer be regarded as a unique object of almost religious devotion. She was not sufficiently important, in a world where there were millions of human beings, nor, if it comes to that, sufficiently superior in 'wisdom and justice' to the average run of unsatisfactory mankind. Nay, wisdom and justice themselves did not seem to matter as much as the philosophers had pretended. Unlettered scoundrels with large mercenary armies behind them seemed mostly to be inheriting the earth, at least until their throats were cut by others of the same kind.[1]

The reaction of Hellenistic Athens to this moral and civil chaos, produced by the long scrambles for empire among the generals who divided Alexander's inheritance, seems almost always to start with some admission of the vanity of human wishes and the deceitfulness of this world. The general wreck was admitted, but each school sought to save something out of the wreck with which to support the human soul. 'All is vanity except Virtue', said the Cynic and Stoic ; 'Man can

[1] Compare for this atmosphere the fragments of Theopompus.

at least do his duty until death'. 'All except pleasure', said the Epicurean; 'that man should be happy at least is indisputably good'. 'All except success', said the military adventurers; 'let fools talk about justice or religion; the one solid good is to have strength and money'. It was in much the same spirit that Demosthenes, after the crash of all his efforts, had discovered that he could at least still die for Athens, and Plato that amid a raving world he could at least try to keep his eyes on eternal truth.

The response of Menander is more complicated, and consequently less passionate. He is not a professional philosopher; he is a writer of Comedy, an Athenian gentleman, a product of high civilization and culture whose natural world has been broken up, and is under the heel of soldiers and money-lenders. What remains to him out of the wreck is a sense of keen interest in the spectacle of life, and an infinite belief in patience, affection, and sympathy. He is always urging that men are not so bad as they would seem from their actions. "They do not what they will, but what they can." Their antics make him smile, but seldom alienate him, except when some one makes bad things worse by harshness to others, or envy or pride.

True, there is very little religion in his plays; and there seems to have been a good deal of satire against superstition. There is little or no Athenian patriotism: he was fellow-citizen to all humanity. His love of Athens showed itself in practice by his steadily refusing all the invitations to leave it that came to him from Ptolemy and perhaps from other kings. His moral judgements possibly err on the side of indulgence, but it is not the indulgence of indifference or of cynicism. They have the same kind of refinement and sensitiveness that has made famous his literary style. At least so it seems to me. Yet I know that the orthodox critics will ask how I can say such a thing, when his plays are all about dissipated young men and illegitimate children, cheating slaves, brothel-keepers, and prostitutes.

I will explain why I venture to say it. In the first place all these words are inexact. And to understand Menander one

has first of all to realize the strange conditions of the time and the hardness with which they bore upon women.[1]

In the old City State there were theoretically only two kinds of women: the citizeness who could be lawfully married to a citizen, and the slave or foreign woman who could not. The slave might be owned by the citizen with whom she lived, or she might belong to a speculator, a *leno*, who kept her for sale or hire. In practice there were also resident foreigners with their perfectly respectable wives; there were also women of good birth and character, but foreign nationality, who were not legally able to marry a citizen, but could contract a free union with him.

In the age of Alexander and his successors this state of affairs, already difficult, was further complicated by constant wars, sieges, and transfers of population. When a town was taken, there was not, indeed, a massacre of the men and a wholesale violation of the women, such as occurred in the Middle Ages or the Thirty Years' War; but there was often a great *andrapodismos*, or selling of slaves. The slave-dealers and *lenones* were waiting behind the lines, and bought human flesh cheap.[2] It was in this period that the great slave markets of Delos and Rhodes came into existence, and after every campaign there were hundreds of women and children sold hither and thither about the Greek world, or held by the *lenones* for the purpose of their infamous traffic. It is women of this sort, the victims of war, mostly friendless and the sport of circumstance, whom Menander so often chooses for his heroines. The titles of many plays—*The Woman of Andros*, *of Olynthus*, *of Perinthus*, *of Samos*—tell the story plainly enough; and the harp-player, Habrotonon, in *The Arbitration*, with her generous recklessness and her longing for freedom, probably had the same history behind her. In many plays the woman is the property of a soldier: he bought her cheap

[1] The biography of Menander in Suidas describes him as 'madly devoted to women'; he seems at any rate in a sort of intellectual championship of women to have taken on the heritage of Euripides.

[2] In Xenophon's Life of Agesilaus (i. 21) it is mentioned how the slave-traders hung about besieged cities, and how sometimes, when things grew dangerous, they had to fly, leaving their wares behind.

on the spot, no doubt, or perhaps got her as a prize. The facts are brutal, but the human beings are much the reverse. In one play (*Hated*) the Soldier has fallen in love with his captive, but will not touch her or trouble her because the frightened girl has told him that she hates him. He walks out alone at night and thinks of suicide. In others some generous or amorous youth tries desperately to collect the necessary sum to buy the girl's freedom from the *leno* who owns her, or to outbid or forestall the soldier who has arranged to buy her. In others, despairing of lawful purchase, he gets together a band of friends who storm the *leno's* house and carry the girl off by force. It is all for her good, and every *leno* deserves worse than the worst he gets. No doubt sometimes these women showed one sort of character, sometimes another; and sometimes they just lapsed into the ways of vice serenely, with a professional eye to the main chance: the two *Bacchides* of Plautus are an instance, and they are taken from Menander. But it is quite misleading to talk without further explanation of 'prostitutes' and 'brothels'. One might better compare these people with the great populations of refugees scattered about the world of recent years, the Russian 'whites' in Constantinople, the exiles from the Baltic Republics, or the various *Heimlosige* of eastern Europe. There would probably be the same variety of fortune and character, though the absence of professional slave-traders has doubtless left our present refugees in a condition of greater hope and less security.

Another of Menander's favourite motives is the exposed child, who is eventually discovered and recognized by its repentant parents. It was an old mythical motive: the Oedipus story made use of it; Euripides' *Ion*, *Antiopê*, *Augê*, *Melanippê*, *Alopê* and other tragedies, were based upon it. It survived to shape the story of Romulus and Remus, and the many foundling-heroes of medieval romance. I have little doubt, though of course the point cannot be proved, that this baby is merely a humanized form of the Divine Year-Baby which is the regular hero of the traditional 'Mummers' Play' and of many Greek rituals. Now it is likely enough

that in this matter Menander was led away by the attractions of a romantic motive which was already canonized in ancient tradition, and which provided plenty of dramatic thrill with a minimum of trouble. But of course it is to be remembered also that the exposure of children was all through antiquity permitted by law, if generally condemned by public opinion. And if permitted by law, it was certain in a time of great changes of fortune to be practised. The commonest reason for exposing a child then, as now, was the desire to conceal an illegitimate birth. But there were others. Pataecus, in the play doubtfully called *The Samian Woman*, finds seventeen or eighteen years later the children whom he had exposed in their infancy. They cannot believe that he, who has always seemed so kind, would have done such a thing. But he explains that his wife had died in giving birth to them, and the day before her death he had learned that the ship which contained his whole fortune had been wrecked. He could not rear the children, so he put rich gifts with them and left them beside a shrine.

These foundlings—who in imitation of their mythical or divine prototypes[1] are very apt to be twins—cause the humane playwright a good deal of trouble. In heroic legend the father is normally a god, and of course nobody as a rule ventures to characterize the action of the god as it deserves. Even the angry father who is about to kill the princess for her breach of chastity, is softened when he learns the high rank of her accomplice. But Menander, in taking over the legendary motive into common contemporary life, has to give the bastard a human father, and yet not make the father a scoundrel. Sometimes he evades the difficulty by putting the false step into the distant past, and letting the guilty old gentleman drop a quiet tear over the errors of his youth. But his commonest device is a nocturnal religious festival. We have enough evidence about May Day festivals in Europe as late as the seventeenth century to show us that these ancient celebrations of the fertility of the spring retained through thousands

[1] E. g. Romulus and Remus, Amphion and Zethus, Boeotus and Aeolus.

of years, in the teeth of all law and decorum, strong traces of that communal marriage-feast in which they originated. And it is likely enough that in the wild emotion of the midnight dances in wood and on mountain many an excited girl met her ravisher. In the only scene extant which treats fully of such an incident, what strikes one most is the bitter repentance of the youth. In *The Arbitration* (*Epitrepontes*) it so happens that Charisius learns that a few months after marriage his wife Pamphile has secretly given birth to a child. He is reluctant to publish his dishonour, and he still loves his wife. So he treats her with marked neglect and spends most of his time away, pretending to enjoy himself, but really eating his heart out. Then he discovers that last year, at the midnight festival of the Tauropolia, Pamphile, who had got separated from her companions, was ravished in the dark by an unknown man; and he knows, by his memory of that night, that he must have been the man! A Congreve hero would have concealed the fact and doubtless handsomely forgiven the lady; but Menander's young scapegrace is wild with self-reproach. He does not merely recognize that he is in the same boat with Pamphile; he sees that he is guilty and she is innocent, and furthermore that he has behaved like a bully and a prig and a hypocrite, while she has steadily defended him against her indignant father.

Let us take one more case to illustrate both the brutality of the times and the delicacy of feeling with which the cultivated Athenian confronted it. When Pataecus, as mentioned above, exposed his two children, they were picked up together with their tokens, or means of recognition, by an old woman. She passed the boy, Moschio, on to a rich woman, Myrrhinê, who was pining for a child, and who brought the foundling up as her own son. As for the girl, Glycera, the old woman kept her, and eventually, as she felt death approaching, revealed to her the facts of her birth, told her that Moschio was her brother, and advised her, if ever she wanted help, to go to the Rich Lady, Myrrhinê, who knew all. Then, since the girl needed a protector, and a respectable soldier was in love with her, the old woman gave her to the soldier. She was not his

wife: probably a legal marriage was not possible. She was certainly not a slave. She was free, as we find stated in the play, either to live with him or to leave him.

All goes well till one evening Glycera, standing at her door, sees her brother Moschio looking at her with interest. She guesses—wrongly—that he has been told that she is his sister, and this guess is confirmed when he runs up and kisses her. She returns the kiss. Her soldier sees her; Moschio, who is a young fop and had merely kissed her because she looked pretty and smiled, runs away. The soldier is transported with rage. Had he been an Englishman, at most periods of history he would have beaten her. Had he been an Italian, he would have murdered her. Being an Athenian, he cuts her hair off. This outrage gives the play its name (*Perikeiromenê*, '*The Girl with Clipped Hair*'), and from our present point of view it is interesting to see how it is regarded by the people concerned. The soldier goes away furious with himself and everybody else; he drinks in order to forget his grief, and is divided between a wish to humble himself and make it up and a wish to kill Moschio. Glycera herself considers the insult unpardonable, leaves the soldier's house, and takes refuge with the Rich Lady, as her old guardian had told her to do. When the soldier tells the story, as he understands it, to Pataecus, that quiet man of the world tells him that he has behaved disgracefully: Glycera is not his slave. She has a perfect right to leave him if she likes, and also a right to take up with Moschio; and that in any case no self-respecting woman will live with a person who may at any moment cut her hair off.

P. Of course, if she had been your wife . . .
S. What a thing to say! If!
P. Well, there is a difference.
S. I regard Glycera as my wife.
P. Who gave her in marriage to you?
S. She herself.

'Very good,' says Pataecus. 'No doubt she liked you then, and now she has left you because you have not treated her properly . . .'

'Not treated her properly!' cries the poor soldier, 'That hurts me . . .', and he goes on later to explain how entirely

well and respectfully he has treated her, except for this one act of madness. 'Just let me show you her wardrobe', he adds; and by that ingenious device Pataecus is made, later on, to see the signet ring and the necklace that he had left with his exposed child.

Meantime, since the soldier is genuinely penitent, Pataecus will try to persuade Glycera to return. When he does so, Glycera is outraged to find that he also has misinterpreted the kiss she gave to Moschio, and even imagined that it was in pursuit of Moschio that she fled to his supposed mother's house. 'You knew me, and you thought me capable of that!'

The point which I wish to make clear is this. Menander is not merely the ingenious favourite of a corrupt and easy-going society. Athenian society in his day, I would suggest, had as a whole assimilated the liberal sensitiveness that was confined to a few exceptional personalities in the previous century; the average cultivated Athenian now felt instinctively much as Plato or Euripides felt. But the ordered world of the fifth century, precarious even then, had now crumbled away. The ordinary Athenian gentleman, who had formerly lived a strenuous life in patriotic military service, in domestic or imperial politics, in the duties of his hereditary priesthoods, in the management of his estates, now found his occupation gone. Politics consisted in obeying the will of a foreign military governor; military service meant enlistment as a mercenary under some foreign adventurer; local priesthoods were little more than antiquarian hobbies, things of no reality and no importance; and the Athenian landed proprietor was, by the new standards, only a poor farmer. All public activity was dangerous. 'Keep quiet and study; keep quiet and practice virtue; keep quiet and enjoy yourself: but at all events keep quiet. And remember that even then you are not safe.' When Menander was a boy of seven, Thebes, one of the greatest of Greek cities, was razed to the ground by the Macedonians and the whole population sold into slavery. The horror of the deed rang through the world. When he was about twenty, Antipater put a garrison into Athens, and deported all citizens who possessed less than 2,000 drachmae,

which meant exile for more than half the citizen body. Next year, Antipater being dead, one of his rivals changed the constitution again; the exiles swarmed back, only to be crushed and driven out once more by Antipater's son, Cassander. Samos was depopulated twice. It became, for some two generations at least, a common incident of war that cities should be sacked and populations sold into slavery; and this is probably the reason for the immense increase in the proportion of slaves[1] to free citizens which we find at this period. What can a civilized and sensitive man hope to do when flung into such a world? Only to be gentle, Menander seems to say: to remember that he is human, and nothing human is outside his range of sympathy. He can comfort his soul with the contemplation of 'sun and stars, water and clouds and fire', eternal beauties which remain while little man strives and passes; he can possess his soul in patience and in kindliness, and remember always that here we have no abiding city.

That is the philosophic background of Menander's thought. But of course it is only the background. He is not a philosopher. He is a writer of comedy, a wit, an ingenious inventor, above all an observer of the oddities and humours of mankind. He is the maker, or at least the perfecter, of a new form of art.

The New Comedy is descended both from the Old Comedy of Aristophanes and from Euripidean tragedy. From Old Comedy it took its metre and scansion and the general style of its dialogue: also the idea of using an invented situation and imaginary characters, whereas Tragedy had been content to tell and re-tell the stories of the heroes, as tradition had given them. It kept also much of the underlying atmosphere of the Old Comedy. It dealt with the present, not the past. It always contained a *Kômos* or Revel, always a *Gamos*, or Union of Lovers. Some elements in it, such as the unescapable babies or twins, seem to go back to the primitive fertility rites out of which the Old Comedy developed. On the other hand,

[1] Athen. vi, p. 272 c: in 317 B. C., under Demetrius of Phalerum 21,000 citizens, 10,000 metoikoi, 400,000 slaves. Cf. the speech of Phaenias about the conduct of Philip V: who was really only carrying on the habits of the Diadochi. Cf. also Livy 38. 43; 42. 8.

it rejected many of the most characteristic features of the Old Comedy. It rejected the phallic dress, the free indecency of the language, the dances and the songs; it rejected completely the political diatribes and the criticism by name of public men. There seems to have been no word in the New Comedy of satire against the Macedonians, just as there was never a word of flattery. The Chorus it treated in a peculiar way. Apparently there had to be a Chorus, but a poet like Menander did not condescend to write for it. Generally towards the end of the First Act one of the characters observes that he sees a band of young men revelling or dancing, or perhaps drunk, and proposes to get out of their way. The Chorus then enters and performs. It is not mentioned again, but it performs in the intervals between the Acts.

In most other ways the New Comedy belongs to the tradition of Tragedy, especially the tragedy of Euripides. It took from there its elaborate plots; for Euripides, though he kept religiously to the traditional heroic legends, worked them out with an ingenuity which amounted to invention. As his biographer, Satyrus, expresses it, Euripides showed invention in passionate scenes 'between husband and wife, father and son, slave and master; in reversals of fortune; in ravished maidens and supposititious children, and recognitions by means of rings and necklaces. And out of these the New Comedy is built up.'[1] Euripides had found these elements already existing in the myths and rites which lie at the back of Greek drama. The Year-God is commonly a baby who grows up; he is commonly a foundling, a child of unknown parents; he is discovered or recognized as the child of a god. But one can see that Euripides was always deepening and enriching his traditional motives by the observation of real life. The saga gave him Ion as the son of Apollo and the princess Creusa, a distinguished and satisfactory parentage. He made of it a tragedy of lust and betrayal, the untroubled and serene cruelty of the perfectly strong towards the weak. Menander, going farther on the same road, takes the decisive step of making his characters no longer gods or heroes or even princes,

[1] *ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ συνέχοντα τὴν νεωτέραν κωμῳδίαν*, Satyrus, col. vii.

but middle-class Athenian citizens of his own day. His comedy belongs to what Diderot called *le genre sérieux*; it was a comedy with thought and with tears in it.

It is this affiliation, as Wilamowitz has seen, that also explains the masks and stock characters of the New Comedy. The tragic heroes by the end of the fifth century, if not earlier, had their characters known and fixed. Oedipus, Odysseus, Clytemnestra and the rest were known figures, as Cromwell, Mary Queen of Scots, or Joan of Arc would be now. They required no exposition or explanation, but each could proceed at once to act or speak according to his traditional nature. They seem also to have had recognizable masks, so that as soon as Ajax or Orestes appeared, most of the audience knew him. The New Comedy dropped the traditional heroic names. It used fictitious names and characters; but it wanted still to use the technique of the traditional subject. The audience was accustomed to it. It avoided the tedium of beginning every play with scenes or even whole acts of mere explanation and exposition. So it used typical characters and typical masks. It is significant that both in Greek and in Latin the word for mask is also the word for character; and *Dramatis Personae* means, strictly speaking, 'The Masks needed in the Performance'. The cross elderly uncle had one sort of mask, the indulgent elderly uncle another. The Obstinate Man, the Flatterer, the Bragging Soldier and the Modest Soldier were got up in such a way that the audience could recognize each type, whatever his name or adventures might be in the particular play, almost as easily as the tragic audience could recognize Ajax. Of course this standardization of the masks tended to limit the writer's invention. But it was not rigid. There are ancient wall paintings which represent a playwright criticizing a set of masks and having them altered.

One often wonders that the masks of the New Comedy, except for the conventional good looks of the hero and heroine, were so far removed from realism. To our taste they seem suited well enough to an Aristophanic farce, but most odd in a refined and perhaps touching Menandrian Comedy. Part of the explanation lies, no doubt, in the conditions of the great

open-air theatre and the absence of opera glasses. Only very strong lines were visible; and after all the audience had been accustomed to masks from time immemorial. But I think that perhaps there was deliberate intention in the avoidance of realism or life-likeness in the masks. We must remember that it was forbidden to satirize real persons on the stage. That was plain; but supposing a mischievous playwright, without mentioning any names, put some offensive character into a mask which closely resembled the face of some real person, what then? It is just what Aristophanes had tried to do in the *Knights*, when he wanted the mask-makers to make his Paphlagonian look like Cleon, and they prudently refused.[1] That such a thing should be possible would make it suspected. If a comedian put a character into any realistic mask, he might discover that the Macedonian authorities thought it was too like the Governor's cousin, and would come down on him with a fine or a sentence of exile. The only safe course, when your characters were not meant for pictures of real persons, was to put them in masks which could not possibly be mistaken for any real person.

Of course modifications would or could always be made in the masks to suit the particular conception of the type-character. One cross uncle was not necessarily the exact image of another. And we must always be on guard against the mistake of imagining that the types were as limited and rigid when the New Comedy was alive and growing as they seemed to the grammarians who classified them after it was dead. When any form of art is dead, it is easy to catalogue its points and fix its boundaries. When Dickens or Shakespeare was alive, it probably seemed to contemporaries that there was no limit to the creative imagination of either: when their work is finished, we can go through it and set down the limits within which it moved. We must also realize that our remains are too scanty to admit of a confident judgement, and

[1] Ar. *Equit.* 230–2:

καὶ μὴ δέδιθ'· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξηκασμένος·
ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἤθελε
τῶν σκευοποιῶν εἰκάσαι.

that the adaptations of Plautus, and even, I should say, those of Terence, are lacking in that sensitiveness and flexibility which were characteristic of Menander. Still, when all these allowances are made, the impression left is that on the whole Menander and his fellows, in spite of their great originality and large productiveness, did mostly operate by making different combinations of a limited number of motives. A betrayed maiden, a foundling and a recognition, a clever slave, a severe father and an indulgent father, took them a long way. Nevertheless, if one compares the subjects treated by Menander with those of Aristophanes on the one hand and Euripides on the other, the impression of diversity and abundance of invention is overwhelming. Let us take, as an indication, the names of a score or so of his lost plays.

Several seem to deal with the fate of women from captured cities: *The Woman from Andros*, *The Woman from Perinthus*, *from Olynthus*, *from Thessaly*, *from Boeotia*, *from Leucas*: though doubtless the *Woman from Leucas* was based on the old love-story of one who threw herself into the sea from the Leucadian cliff, and the *Woman from Thessaly* must have been given to witchcraft. The *Man from Sicyon* was apparently a sort of Tartarin, what the French call a Gascon, in type, a talker and planner and promiser of great things. The *Man from Carthage* we know was a barbarian, talking broken Greek, pitifully searching the world for his two sons who had been captured in war, and eventually finding them. The *Perikeiromenê*, or *Girl with Clipped Hair*, has been discussed above; so has the *Misoumenos* or *Hated*.

A great mass of plays deal with what the seventeenth century would have called 'humours'; the quaint characteristics of human nature. The titles are often impossible to translate owing to the differences in mere grammar between Greek and English: *Ἀνατιθεμένη* is perhaps *She Changes Her Mind*. But what is *Ῥαπιζομένη*? Perhaps *He Boxes Her Ears!* will do it, though possibly it is a theatrical or musical term and means 'Hissed Off'. *The Man who Buried Himself*, *Αὐτὸν Πενθῶν*, suggests a play like Arnold Bennett's *Great Adventure*. *The Man who Punished Himself* did so, we happen to

know, because his harsh discipline had made his son run away to the wars. *The Rustic*, *The Heiress*, *The Treasure*, *The Slanderer*, *The Flatterer*, *The Woman-hater*, *The Sea Captain*, *The Recruiting Officer*, *The Widow* seem fairly clear. So do *False!* (Ἄπιστος), *Bad Temper*, and *Twice Deceived*—though in Greek the participle is active; we know part of the plot from a brilliant scene in Plautus's *Bacchides*.[1] *The Imbrians* or *Gone to Imbros* was supposed to refer to the fact that that island was the nearest place in which to escape extradition for debt and small offences: there is an old English farce with the title *A Bolt to Boulogne*. A new fragment, however, throws doubt on this.[2] *Thais* and *Phanion* are named from their heroines, and the names are not the names of respectable citizens. Other plays are almost impossible to translate: Κωνειαζόμεναι describing women who for some reason threaten to drink hemlock; Συναριστῶσαι or *Ladies Lunching together*; Συνερῶσα, which seems to mean, *She Also Loved Him*; Συνέφηβοι, *Both Were Young*; Πρόγαμοι or Προγάμια, *Before the Marriage*. There seems an immense variety, and of course I have taken only a few out of the many titles preserved. Tradition says that Menander was a friend, and perhaps a follower, of Epicurus. If so, we need not be surprised to find a group of plays dealing with superstition: *The Superstitious Man*, *Trophônius*—a reference to the famous and somewhat ridiculous oracle in Boeotia—*The Begging Priest*, *Inspired*, and *The Priestess*. In *The Apparition* the plot presents us with a widower who has married again: his new wife has a grown-up daughter whose existence she has concealed, but from whom she cannot bear to be parted. She constructs a shrine in her house, with a curtain in front and a secret exit, and here her daughter visits her. Her step-son, who is surprised at his step-mother's extreme piety, catches sight in the shrine of a mysterious figure which is explained by those interested as being a divine apparition. One sees the start for a comedy of mystification.

The titles form, of course, a slender foundation on which to

[1] Plaut. *Bacch.* iv, iv–viii, ll. 760 sqq.
[2] *P. Oxyrh.* x. 1235.

rest any very definite belief about the qualities of the plays; but the impression which they make is greatly strengthened by what little we know of the plots. We have, for example, on a fragmentary papyrus part of an account of the plot of *The Priestess*.[1] A man's wife or mistress had left him long ago—perhaps for religious reasons—and become a priestess. He does not know what she did with their son, and the Priestess is unapproachable. She is, however, an adept at exorcisms; so the man's confidential slave pretends to be possessed by a demon, and is readily taken in by the Priestess for treatment in the Temple. There he finds out that the boy is being reared as their own by some people called *X*, and tells the father, who goes at once to claim his son. But it so happens that the *X*'s have also a son of their own, and by mistake the excited old gentleman lights on him and reveals himself as the boy's father by telling a story which appears obviously false. The boy decides that the old gentleman is mad, and tells his foster-brother; who consequently, when his father approaches him on the same subject, humours him as a lunatic. I omit some minor complications; but even thus one sees what an immense advance in the mechanism of plot-construction and entanglement has been made since the fifth century.

Tragedy, to use the old Roman division, dealt with *Res Sacra*; the Comedy of Aristophanes dealt with *Res Publica*; that of Menander was occupied with *Res Privata*, a region in which the emotions and changes of fortune may be smaller in extent, but are infinitely more various.

No less great than the development of plot is the development of technique in points of detail. The number of actors is no longer limited to three. The metres are those of Comedy, though the musical and lyrical element is entirely absent. It is notable that Menander is more concerned with metrical euphony and with a skilful ordering of the words in the sentence than his contemporaries. He avoids, for example, the so-called 'pause after a dactyl', and seldom admits inversions of order for merely metrical reasons. The language

[1] *Pap. Oxyrh.* x. 1235.

though strikingly natural is never slangy or vulgar.[1] He avoids scrupulously forms of words that were not really colloquial, such as Datives in *-οισι* or *-αισι*, while he elides freely the verbal termination *-αι* which at this time was pronounced like *ε*. In sum one may say that while he has built up a most scrupulous and delicate style of his own, he is wonderfully free from the influence of professional rhetoric. Then there is a great variety and flexibility in the composition. People enter 'talking off stage': or conversing with each other; they enter in the middle of a sentence or a line. The soliloquies, which are not uncommon, are real soliloquies, in which embarrassed persons try to get things clear by talking to themselves: they are not, except in the Prologues, mere devices for telling a story. Sometimes the soliloquies are overheard: a device which is suitable enough when the speaker has really been talking to himself aloud, though very bad when the soliloquy is only the playwright's artifice for revealing a character's unspoken thoughts. Conversations are overheard and interrupted: there are misunderstandings which lead to results; there are motives of action based deliberately on odd or oversubtle points of psychology. For example, a young man whose father has misunderstood him is so hurt at being misunderstood, that he determines not indeed to enlist as a soldier but to pretend that he intends to enlist, so that his father may be sorry and apologize. And, though the play there breaks off, we may hazard a guess that the father is either too stupid or too clever, or too full of self-reproach to do what he is expected to do. Such refinements are more in the style of the Parisian stage in the nineteenth century than that of classical Athens.

At times it would seem that a complication is invented chiefly for the sake of the psychology. It gives the opportunity for some one to act not in the ordinary way but in some strange way that illustrates the oddity of human nature. In the fragmentary play that is conjecturally called *The*

[1] The presence of an obscene phrase in one papyrus fragment has been taken as evidence that the fragment is not the work of Menander (but cf. *Perik.* 234).

Samian Woman, an elderly and melancholic man, Demeas, with an adopted son, Moschio, has taken the Samian Woman to live with him. On returning from a voyage he finds in the house a baby which, with the diabolical ingenuity that distinguishes Menander's babies, contrives to make Demeas believe that it is the child of the Samian Woman and his adopted son, to whom he is devoted. He breaks out into a fury of rage and curses, but instantly checks himself. 'Why are you shouting? Fool, why are you shouting? Control yourself. Be patient. . . . It is not Moschio's fault. He did not mean it. He would never want to wrong me. He has always been good to me and to every one. She must have taken him in a weak moment. Fascinated the boy as she fascinated me . . . who am much older and ought to be wiser. She is a Helen! A siren! A harlot!'[1] He pretends to know nothing, but on an irrelevant pretext drives the unfortunate Samian out of his house. The unnatural gentleness of his first reaction leads to the violent explosion of his next.

Then the method of exposition, if not altogether new, for both Comedy and Tragedy had not merely their prologues but their scenes with two characters in conversation indirectly explaining the situation of the play,[2] is nevertheless far more varied and ingenious than any in the fifth century had tried to be. Menander contrives to amuse you in a dozen different ways while he makes his explanation. Let us take the scene which gives its name to the *Epitrepontes*, the scene of the Arbitration. What is needed for the plot is to explain that a certain exposed baby has been reared, and will prove to be the child of Charisius. But the way the story is told is this.[3]

Enter two slaves, a charcoal-burner and a shepherd, quarrelling, followed by a woman with a baby. 'You are cheating.' 'No, it's you.' 'Oh, why did I give him anything?' 'Will you agree to an arbitration?' 'Yes; where

[1] *Samia* 111–33.
[2] Two servants in the *Medea* and the *Knights*: Dionysus and Xanthias in the *Frogs*, Antigone and Ismene in the *Antigone*, and so on.
[3] Ἐπιτρέποντες, ll. 1–177.

shall we find the arbitrator?' 'Any one will do. Try this old gentleman.'

The old gentleman, Smicrines, is just returning in an angry temper from the house of his son-in-law, Charisius.

The Charcoal-burner. Please, Sir, could you spend a few minutes on us?

Old Gentleman. On you? Why?

Charc. We are having a dispute.

O. G. What is that to me?

Charc. We are looking for an arbitrator. If there is nothing to prevent you, you might settle . . .

O. G. Bless my soul! Peasants in goatskins walking about and litigating as they go!

The Charcoal-burner pleads with him, and pleads so eloquently that the Shepherd is alarmed.

Shepherd. How he does talk! Oh, why did I ever give him anything?

O. G. You will abide by my decision?

Charc. Yes, whatever it is.

O. G. All right, I will hear the case. . . . You begin, Shepherd, as you have not spoken yet.

Every line so far is slightly unexpected and therefore amusing. You cannot help wanting to hear what comes next.

The Shepherd begins:

About a month ago I was watching my sheep alone in some wooded ground, when I found a baby lying on the grass with a necklace and some ornaments.

Charc. (*interrupting*). That is what it 's all about.

Shep. (*turning on him*). He says you are not to speak!

O. G. If you interrupt I will hit you with my stick.

Shep. Quite right too. (*The Charcoal-burner subsides.*)

Shep. (*continuing*). I brought the baby home. Then at night I thought it over. How was I to bring up a child? Next day this charcoal-burner met me and I told him what had happened, and he begged me to give him the child. 'For God's sake,' he said, 'let me have it, and I will bless you. My wife has had a baby, and it has died.'

O. G. (*to Charcoal-burner*). Did you ask him for it?

Charc. I did.

Shep. He spent the whole day beseeching me. When I gave it to him he kissed my hands.

O. G. Did you kiss his hands?

Charc. I did.

Shep. So he went off. Then next day suddenly he came back with his wife and demanded the ornaments and things—not that they are of any value—which had been exposed with the child. Now, obviously, they have nothing to do with the case. He asked for the baby and I gave him the baby. What I found belongs to me, and he ought to be grateful that I gave him part of it. That is all I have to say. [*A pause.*]

Charc. Has he quite finished?

O. G. Yes. Didn't you hear him say so?

Charc. Very good. Then I answer. His account is perfectly correct. He found the child. I begged him to give me the child. All quite true. Then I heard from one of his fellow-shepherds that he had found some trinkets with the child. Those trinkets are the child's property, and here is the child claiming them. (Bring him forward, wife!) They are his, not yours; and I, as his guardian and protector, demand them on his behalf. His whole fortune in life may depend on those trinkets. They may enable us to identify his parents, like Neleus or Pelias in the tragedies.—Now please decide.

O. G. All that was exposed with the child belongs to the child. That is my decision.

Shep. Very good; but in that case whom does the child belong to?

O. G. Not to you who tried to rob it. I award the child to this Charcoal-burner who has tried to protect it.

Charc. God bless you!

Shep. A monstrous judgement. Good Lord, I found everything, and it is all taken from me! . . . Have I got to give the things over?

O. G. Certainly.

Shep. A monstrous decision. Perish me if it isn't!

Charc. Be quick.

Shep. Heracles, it is too bad.

Charc. Open your bag and let us see the things. . . . Please don't go yet; wait, Sir, till he hands them over.

Shep. (*handing the things slowly over*). Why did I ever trust this man to arbitrate?

O. G. Hand them over, rascal.

Shep. I call it disgraceful.

O. G. Have you got them all? Then good-bye.

One might think the scene was now exhausted of all its dramatic points; but not at all. The Shepherd goes off grumbling. The Charcoal-burner sits down with his wife to look through the trinkets one by one. While they are doing

so, Onesimus, the slave of Charisius, happens to come out of the house, and naturally looks to see what the pair are doing.

'A seal with a cock on it,' proceeds the Charcoal-burner. 'A transparent stone. An axe-head. A signet ring with the stone set in gold, the rest of it iron; the figure of a goat or a bull, I can't see which. Name of the carver Cleostratus. . . .'

Onesimus. Let's have a look!

Charc. Hullo, who are you?

On. That's it!

Charc. What's it?

On. The ring.

Charc. What about it?

On. It's the ring my master lost.

There we may stop. Of course, by strict standards the scene is an artificial one, though at least it is not impossible nor outside the range of human life. But the treatment shows a light touch and a variety of incident which mark a complete change from the style of the fifth century. Every line has a certain unobtrusive wit, the quality that was called in antiquity 'Attic salt', and the situation is made to yield its full harvest of amusement.

If this scene is leisurely in movement, let us take another from the same play to show how swift Menander can be, when he wishes, with his big emotional effects.

A harp-player named Habrotonon,[1] moved partly by pity, partly by a wish to get her freedom, pretends that the child is hers. This gives her a hold over Charisius. Meantime she is looking for the real mother. She remembers seeing a girl with torn clothes, crying bitterly at the feast of the Tauropolia, and is sure that there she has a clue. Charisius's young wife, Pamphile, who is distracted between the unkindness of her husband and the fury with which her father takes her part against him, comes out of her house just as Habrotonon with the baby comes out of the next house.

Pam. (*to herself*). My eyes are sore with crying.

Hab. (*to the baby*). Poor thing! Did it keep whining? What did it want, then?

Pam. (*to herself*). Will no god take pity on me?

[1] Ἐπιτρέποντες, 432–51.

Hab. Dear baby, when will you find your mother?—But who is this?

Pam. (*to herself*). Well, I will go back to my father.

Hab. (*staring at her*). Madam, wait one moment!

Pam. Did you speak to me?

Hab. Yes. Oh, look at me! Do you know me?—This is the girl I saw. . . . (*impulsively*) Oh, my dear, I am so glad.

Pam. Who are you?

Hab. Give me your hand. Tell me, dear, last year you went, didn't you, to the Tauropolia . . .

Pam. Woman, where did you get that child?

Hab. Darling, do you see something that you know, round its neck? . . . Oh, madam, don't be frightened of me.

Pam. It is not your own child?

Hab. I have pretended it was. Not that I meant to cheat the real mother. I only wanted to find her. . . . And now you are found! You are the girl I saw that night.

Pam. Who was the man?

Hab. Charisius.

Pam. Oh joy! . . . Do you know it? Are you sure?

A scene could hardly be more rapid, and every word tells.

The literary fate of Menander has been curious. He was apparently a little too subtle, too refined, too averse from rhetoric, or possibly too new and original, for the popular taste of his own day. With over a hundred plays he only obtained the first prize eight times. He was obviously not a best-seller. But his fame was immense, and he was recognized soon after his death as the incontestable chief of the writers of the New Comedy. Almost alone in his age he ranked as a classic; and the Atticist grammarians of Roman times have to labour the point that Menander, however illustrious, did not really write exactly the same language as Plato or Demosthenes.

More than this, the style of drama which he brought to perfection proceeded immediately to dominate the ancient stage. The Hellenistic theatre knew no other form of comedy: the Roman theatre lived entirely on translations and adaptations of Menander and his school, Philemon, Diphilus, Posidippus, and the rest. He was read and praised by Cicero and Quintilian; by Plutarch, Lucian, Alciphron, Aelian; he is quoted in anthologies, and his apophthegms were made up into

anthologies of their own. But in modern times, when the Renaissance scholars proceeded to look for his plays, it was found that they had all perished. They were only represented by the Roman adaptations of Plautus and Terence, the former much rougher, coarser, and more boisterous in form, the latter showing much delicacy of style, but somewhat flattened and enfeebled.

Yet through these inferior intermediaries Menander conquered the modern stage. There is not much of him in Shakespeare except the *Comedy of Errors*. But Molière with *L'Avare* and *Le Misanthrope*, with *Les Femmes savantes* and above all *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, comes straight out of the Menander tradition. So does Beaumarchais with his *Figaro* and his *Don César de Bazan*. And the style of both has the Menandrian polish. The great Danish comedian Holberg confessedly went back to Plautus for some of his plays, and adopted Menandrian formulae for others. In England there is a touch of him in Ben Jonson. There are whole blocks of him in Congreve, Farquhar, and Vanbrugh—the same dissipated young men, the same clever and knavish servants, the same deceiving of parents and guardians, the same verbal courtliness and wit, the same elaboration of the story. Sheridan, though more a gentleman than the Restoration Dramatists, belongs to the same school, and has built Sir Anthony Absolute and the Captain, Charles Surface and Joseph Surface, absolutely on the Menandrian model. Of course these writers only knew Plautus and Terence, and were doubtless content with their models. They had little of Menander's philosophic spirit, nothing of his interest in distressed women; nothing of his inexhaustible human sympathies and profound tenderness of heart. But, directly or indirectly, no one who writes polite comedy now can avoid the influence of Menander.

It is a curious thing, this power of world-wide and almost inexhaustible influence. A price has to be paid for it, and a heavy price. A writer cannot be so popular unless he is, I will not say, vulgar himself, but at least capable of being read with pleasure by vulgar people. All great writers and thinkers need interpreters: otherwise the difference between them and

the average lazy public is too great. And it is likely enough that Menander has gained in influence rather than lost through his dependence on his Roman imitators. They had left out his delicacy of thought, his reflectiveness, and much of his beauty of style, but they kept the good broad lines that were easy for every one to understand.

Thus the interpreters and inheritors were provided. But, to justify such a long life for Menander's influence, there must have been something to interpret, some inheritance precious enough to compel the interest of successive generations. And I think we can see what there was. There go to the greatest imaginative work normally two qualities: intensity of experience and the gift of transmuting intensity into beauty. Menander had both. Gibbon speaks somewhere of the intense suffering which is caused when a refined and sensitive population is put under the control of brutal and uneducated conquerors, or, what comes to much the same thing, exposed to the brutal play of chance. He was thinking of the highly civilized Byzantines put at the mercy of the Turks: we may think of the many sensitive natures who were broken or driven mad by the strain of service in the late war. Menander belonged to just such a refined and sensitive generation—the most civilized known to the world before that date, and perhaps for two thousand years after it—flung suddenly into a brutal and violently changing world. He interpreted its experience in his own characteristic way: not by a great spiritual defiance, like the Stoic or Cynic; not by flight from the world, like the Epicurean; but by humour, by patience, by a curious and searching sympathy with his fellow humans, in their wrigglings as well as their firm stands; and by a singular power of expressing their thoughts and their strange ways in language so exact and simple and satisfying, that the laughter in it seldom hurts, and the pain is suffused with beauty.

G. M.

For the Bibliography to Menander see p. 223.

III

LATER EPIC POETRY IN THE GREEK WORLD

SUMMARY: Ἀγωνισμός and Ἐπίδειξις and their influence on Greek poets—Increase of Ἀγῶνες and Festivals in the later period, illustrated by Inscriptions—Local legends and local history—Clubs of poets—Poets attached to temples, Ἀρεταλογία, Maiistas: Poetesses in Aetolia—Fragments of Epyllia—*μείουρον μέτρον*.

A FEW examples of works in the Epic style of the later age have come to light beside those that were treated of in the First Series of New Chapters, pp. 109–11. First we have a poem by Maiistas[1] from an inscription which deals with the temple of Sarapis at Delos, and a papyrus[2] of the second century with some marginal notes, giving an account of Egyptian plants and trees. The first part relates to the cyclamen, the second to the Persea tree. Dr. Hunt regards the poem as 'diffuse and of small merit, whether from the scientific or literary point of view', and is inclined to refer it to the Imperial age; but A. Körte,[3] in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, vii. 118, sees no reason for denying it to the Hellenistic. The poem was found with fragments of another roll containing the remains of a poem on Astronomy; both have marginal notes, are written apparently in the same hand, and seem to be didactic poems. There are also remains of a few Epyllia.

But although the poems are few, stone records confirm the fact that the practice of composition continued throughout Greek lands; the literary instinct never died. Our poems fall into two classes: that of competitive poetry, and that of complimentary or epideictic.

The spirit of competition (*ἀγωνισμός*) and of display (*ἐπίδειξις*) pervade Greek poetry.[4] We are familiar with the spirit of competition in the Tragic and Comic poets, and in the 'occasional' poems of Pindar on *ἀγῶνες ἱππικοί* and *ἀθλητικοί*,

[1] Treated of below, pp. 41 sqq.
[2] *Oxyrh. Pap.* xv. 1796.
[3] See also K. Fr. W. Schmidt in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1924, p. 10.
[4] See E. A. Barber in *The Hellenistic Age*, p. 38.

but it is not generally recognized that Hexameter (Epic) poetry reveals the same spirit. *Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων* is not a clear and forcible thought struck out and employed once for all; even in Homer it was the charge which Peleus gave to Achilles *μάλα πολλά*, 'over and over again'.[1] Competition, display of power with the public recognition and admiration of it, and the verdict of contemporaries, were to a Greek the breath of his nostrils, and competition in public appeared to him to be the best method of determining merit; and while Isocrates rightly regards festivals as fostering a spirit of unity,[2] Thucydides finds in them 'refreshment to the spirit', *τῇ γνώμῃ ἀναπαῦλαι*.[3] Pindar[4] has caught the spirit of youth when he refers more than once to the defeated competitor creeping home by sequestered paths and by-ways:

ἐπίκρυφον οἶμον, κατὰ λαύρας πτώσσοντι:

ἀφάνεια is a thing to be avoided, and the emulous and ambitious lad *οὐχ ὑπὸ χειᾷ ἤβαν δάμασεν*, 'did not cramp the spirit of his youth in a hole'.[5]

No honour could be paid more gratifying to the spirit of a dead hero than a brilliantly endowed *Ἀγών*. It was in such an *Ἀγών* in honour of Amphidamas that Hesiod was said to have been victorious at Chalcis:[6]

ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼν ἐπ' ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος
Χαλκίδα δ' εἰς ἐπέρησα, τὰ δὲ προπεφραδμένα πολλὰ
ἄεθλ' ἔθεσαν παῖδες μεγαλήτορες· ἔνθα μέ φημι
ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα.

The author of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*[7] states that the Polemarch arranged *τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα* for those who had fallen in war; *ἀγῶνας γυμνικοὺς καὶ ἱππικοὺς καὶ μουσικῆς ἁπάσης*, says Plato:[8] the author of the *Epitaphius* included among Lysias' orations puts it in a more rhetorical style, *ἀγῶνες ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας καὶ πλούτου*.[9] Elaborate contests were held

[1] Λ. 784; cf. Z. 208.
[2] Isocr. *Panegyricus*, § 43.
[3] Thucyd. ii. 38.
[4] *Ol.* viii. 69 and *Pyth.* viii. 86.
[5] Pind. *Isth.* viii. 70.
[6] Hes. Ἔργα 653.
[7] *Ath. Pol.*, ch. 58.
[8] *Menex.* 249 B.
[9] [Lys.] ii. 80.

at Salamis in Cyprus by Nicocles at the tomb of King Euagoras, his father, who was killed in 374,[1] *χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ καὶ γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἵππων τε καὶ τριήρων ἁμίλλαις*. The spirit of competition in the things of the mind was established in Greek legend and not confined to demonstration on special occasions. Thus the Sirens were audacious enough to challenge the Muses to sing.[2] They were defeated, and the Muses plucked off their feathers and made crowns for themselves out of them. So too the nine daughters of Pierus, King of Pieria, who had presumed to rival the Muses, were changed into birds.[3] Thamyris too, who had boasted to be the Muses' superior, was defeated by them and punished.[4] Seers also contend, as Calchas with Mopsus:[5] Calchas was said after his return from Troy to have met Mopsus near Claros, and to have died from chagrin because he had found a seer greater than himself. Hesiod 'worked up the story', making Calchas set Mopsus a puzzle which he solved.

The '*Certamen Homericum*' deserves notice here, two fragments of its source[6] having lately come to light. The *Certamen* is generally considered to be the work of a Sophist of the Antonine age, and Mr. Allen with much probability would attribute it to Porphyrius. The first fragment is one of the earliest Greek Papyri that we have, for it belongs to the third century B. C., and it was also one of the earliest discoveries of modern explorers.[7] It is a fragment of the Μουσεῖον of Alcidamas, the Sophist of the fourth century B. C., and therefore was written not long after his time. The second fragment[8] was discovered quite recently, and contains the conclusion with the subscription Ἀλκιδ]*άμαντος περὶ Ὁμήρου*. Mr. Allen has

[1] Isocr. *Euag.* 1.

[2] Paus. ix. 34. 3.

[3] Anton. Liber. ix.

[4] *Rhesus* 923 *ἤλθομεν . . . μεγίστην εἰς ἔριν μελῳδίας | κείνῳ σοφιστῇ Θρῃκί.* Homer, B 595 *Μοῦσαι . . . ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήικα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς . . .*
αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὴν
θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστύν.
Πηρὸν θέσαν used to be taken to mean 'blinded him'. But since blindness and the gift of music or poetry often go together (cf. Homer, *θ*. 64), 'disabled' or 'helpless' makes better sense.

[5] Hesiod, frag. 160; from Strabo, xiv. 642.

[6] Now readily accessible in Mr. T. W. Allen's text of Homer, *Opera*, vol. v, p. 225 and 186.

[7] *Petrie Papyri*, i, no. 25.

[8] *Michigan Papyrus* 2754, printed and discussed by J. G. Winter in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, lvi (1925), 120. See the article by W. M. Edwards below, p. 118.

argued[1] with great persuasiveness that Alcidamas drew his material from a poem by Lesches of Lesbos (probably of the eighth century), to whom the *Ilias Parva* was attributed, in which the Ἀγών was narrated, and that Plutarch's authorities quoted from it the verses which appear in the *Septem Sapientium Convivium*, 154 A. Another contest between Homer and Hesiod, or a variant form of this, is referred to in Hesiod, fr. 265. This contest was located in Delos.

Again, in the recently discovered fragment of Corinna,[2] the mountains Helicon and Cithaeron engage in a contest of song. Cithaeron's theme was the infancy of Zeus, and the gods, who were the judges, proclaimed him the victor. Then Helicon in chagrin pulled down from the mountain a sheer cliff which broke into an avalanche of ten thousand fragments.[3]

Recurrent Festivals as well as occasions at which epideictic displays, if not competitions, took place, were a great encouragement to poets in the age now under our consideration. How wide-spread the institution was may be seen from inscriptions. The following are the chief instances: the *Πτολεμαίεια* at Alexandria (279–278), the *Σωτήρια* at Delphi (275), the *Μέγαλα Ἀσκλαπίεια* at Cos, and the *Μουσεῖα* at Thespiae (about 250), the *Διδύμεια* at Miletus, and *Ποσείδεια* at Tenos[4] (about 230); the *Κλάρια* at Colophon in the third century[5] (*ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ γυμνικῷ* only is mentioned), the *Ἰακυνθοτρόφια*[6] at Cnidus, the *Ἀντιόχεια* at Laodicea[7] (*ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ γυμνικῷ* only is mentioned), and the *Πτώια* at Acraephia (about 200);[8] the *Νικηφόρια* at Pergamum (about 180), the *Ἀθηναῖα* and *Εὐμένεια* at Sardis (about 167), the *Κόρεια* or *Σωτήρια* at

[1] T. W. Allen, *Homer*, pp. 19–27.

[2] Now printed in E. Diehl, *Anthol. Lyr.* i, p. 477 from *Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 2, pp. 19 sqq.

[3] *ἐμ μουριάδεσσι λᾶυς*. The demonstration that λᾶυς is the right reading, as it was also the original reading of the Papyrus, was given in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xxxiii, p. 296. Since that article was written, fresh evidence of the form λᾶος by the side of λᾶας has come to light on *Oxyrh. Pap.* viii, no. 1087. Λᾶος is given among a list of Παρώνυμα, with a new quotation from Simonides: *ἀφ' οὗ φησὶ Σιμωνίδης ξύλα καὶ λάους ἐπιβάλλων.*

[4] *Musée Belge*, 1907, No. 1.

[5] Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschr. v. Priene*, no. 57.

[6] Collitz and Bechtel, no. 3501.

[7] Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschr. v. Priene*, no. 59.

[8] For the Πτώια in the first century see a long and complete inscription with names and an account of receipts and expenses in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xliv. 251.

Cyzicus in the second century, and the *Πτώια* at Acraephia about 100.[1] At the *Χαριτήσια* held at Orchomenus about 100 B. C. Aminias of Thebes was the successful Epic poet;[2] and about the same time Democles his father (probably not his son) was successful at Thebes.[3] At an earlier date, between 366 and 338, we find [*Ἀμφιαράϊα τ*]*ὰ μέγαλα* at Oropus;[4] and at a later date there, soon after the time of Sulla, *τὰ Ἀμφιαράϊα καὶ Ῥωμαῖα*.[5] Two Epic poets are mentioned on four occasions of this festival.

The inscriptions from Delphi show the same prominence of Epic poetry. Thus in the middle of the third century (257) Amphiclus of Chios is commemorated as a Hieromnemon and an Epic poet.[6] Cleander of Colophon (about 245) and Eratoxenus of Athens (about 226), Epic poets, receive the complimentary honours which were bestowed upon Proxeni and benefactors.[7] Nicander of Colophon receives the same honours (about 205).[8] The inscription calls him 'the son of Anaxagoras', and hence he is not the didactic poet, who calls himself the son of Damaeus.

In the year 218–217 an Epic poet [Pol?]itas,[9] who came from Hypata to Lamia, a city situated near the head of the Malian Gulf, which had joined the Aetolian League about the year 269, received the reward of Proxenia, *δείξεις ποιησάμενος*. The poetess Aristodama, who will be spoken of below, received the reward at the same time.[10] Again, shortly before 100, the Cnossians formally praise Dioscurides of Tarsus [11], a *γραμμα-*

[1] For a complete list see P. Boesch, *Θεωρός*, 14 sqq., 17; cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 295.

[2] *I. G.* vii, no. 3197.

[3] *I. G.* vii, no. 2448; cf. 416.

[4] *I. G.* vii, no. 414; cf. 411 for the second century B. C., and 412 for the first. In the latter centuries this festival was on the most elaborate scale.

[5] *I. G.* vii, nos. 416, 419, 420; cf. 417, 418.

[6] Dittenberger[3], no. 447.

[7] Dittenberger[3], nos. 448, 451.

[8] Dittenberger[3], no. 452. See W. v. Christ, *Griech. Lit.*[6] ii, (1) p. 169, who thinks that he may have been the grandfather of the 'didactic' poet; and Schneider, *Nicandrea*, p. 18.

[9] *I. G.* ix. 2. 63.

[10] Dittenberger[3], no. 532.

[11] Dittenberger[3], no. 721; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* iv. 354; Durrbach, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos*, 184 sqq.

τικός, for an encomium which he had composed on the Cretan race κατὰ τὸν ποιητάν (that is, in Homeric style), and sent his pupil Myrinus of Amisus,[1] an Epic and Lyric poet, διαθησιόμενον (to recite) τὰ πεπραγματευμένα ὑπ' αὐτῶ. For such compositions local legends would naturally be laid under contribution, and, as Callimachus saw, would provide a plentiful store both for Epic and Lyric poets. Indeed, in the second century Epic poets formed a Society for themselves; and just as the theatrical and musical performers of Athens and elsewhere at this later time tended to form themselves into travelling companies, so we hear of a club of Epic poets at Athens in 128–127: Σύνοδος τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐποποιῶν, . . . οἱ τῶν ἐποποιῶν συναγμένοι ἐν Ἀθήναις, . . . οἱ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐποποιοὶ συναγμένοι.[2] They receive a vote of thanks from the Delphians, a complimentary crown, and the usual privileges of Προξενία and Προμαντεία. The inscription records τοὺς ἐπιδεδαμηκότας τῶν ποιητῶν as being Artemon, Hagias, Demetrius, Cephisodorus.[3]

In the second century Epic poets are mentioned in connexion with cities whose history and gods they celebrated. Thus in 128 a young poet ὑπάρχων ἐν τεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡλικίαι, Ariston of Phocaea, gave at Delos many recitations (ἀκροάσεις) of poems which he had composed in honour of Apollo and the gods of the island and the Athenian people.[4] Again, about the year 100, the Samothracians awarded a crown to the Epic poet Herodes, son of Posidonius, of Priene,[5] who had composed poetry on Dardanus, Aetion,[6] and the story of Cadmus and Harmonia, the great figures in their heroic mythology.

[1] Homolle conjectures with some probability that this Myrinus was the poet whose four Epigrams are in the *Anthologia Palatina*.

[2] Dittenberger[3], no. 699; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 297; v. Christ, *Griech. Lit.*[6] ii. 1, p. 320. See the list in *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii, p. 56.

[3] Names of other Epic poets are given from inscriptions in v. Christ, *Griech. Lit.*[6] ii. 1, p. 321; *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii, p. 49.

[4] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xiii. 250; Durrbach, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos*, p. 139.

[5] Hiller von Gaertringen, *Priene*, nos. 68, 69.

[6] That is, Eetion (Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 1129); called Ἰασίων in Diodorus, v. 48.

We also find at this time poets connected with temples.[1] The didactic writer Nicander held an office in the temple of Apollo Clarius at Colophon, and an epigram from a cenotaph at New Colophon (Notium) gives the name of a poet Gorgus, a priest of the same temple.[2] Sometimes a celebrated writer would be free to compose a laudatory hymn at the celebration of a festival, as Timotheus[3]; or a miracle would be commemorated.

There is an account in Hexameters of the Epiphany of Asclepius in the inscription which contains the Paean of Isyllus of Epidaurus,[4] and a more literary example, a poem by Maiistas mentioned above, a person hitherto unknown, has come to light lately in the Sarapeum at Delos.[5] The date of the inscription is about 200 B.C., and the incidents which are narrated in it are rather unusual. A summary of it is given in a prose composition, written in the *Κοινή*, prefacing the poem itself. The writer of this prose inscription was Apollonius, a member of a family of Egyptian priests, and the grandson of one Apollonius who had introduced the worship of Sarapis into Delos, and had continued there as a priest till he died at the age of ninety-seven. Apollonius I was succeeded by his son, Demetrius, and Demetrius by his son Apollonius II. The god appeared to him in a dream, and revealed to him that an independent Sarapeum, no longer in a hired house, must be established, and that he would show him the site. It was in a passage leading to the market-place, full of filth, and advertised by a placard for sale. He bought this site, and completed the temple in six months; whereupon some persons banded together, and brought a charge against him, presumably of having built the temple without the leave of the public authorities.[6] We know that such leave was necessary at Athens.

[1] *καί κ' ἔνθ' ὑμνοπόλοιο . . . Νικάνδροιο | μνῆστιν ἔχοις*, Nic. *Alexiph.* fin. See Pasquali in *Χάριτες* for F. Leo, p. 85, I due Nicandri; *Studi Ital.* xx. (1913), 55.

[2] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* x. 514 *πρέσβυν ἀοιδοπόλων*.

[3] See Alexander Aetolus, frag. 4, in *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 124.

[4] *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 132.

[5] *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 68; *I. G.* xi. 4. 1299; P. Roussel, *Les Cultes égyptiens à Délos*, p. 71; Dittenberger[3], vol. ii, no. 663.

[6] Foucart, *Associations religieuses*, p. 127.

From the fact that in the poem Maiistas calls their motive 'jealousy' (*φθόνῳ*, line 46), Foucart suggests that Apollonius had become unpopular by collecting contributions and increasing the revenue of the temple. Then the god in a second revelation told him that he would win his case. He did win, and Maiistas composed a poem in sixty-five Hexameters, giving a fuller account of what happened. The mouths of the adversaries should be stopped, said the divine vision; and so it was at the trial. They were as if they had been struck from heaven, statues or stones, *ἐοικότας εἰδώλοισιν | ἢ λάεσσιν.*

The style of Apollonius's prose introduction and that of Maiistas's poem differ considerably. The prose is written in the *Κοινή* of the time, and affords a good illustration of what Dr. Milligan has lately demonstrated from Ptolemaic papyri, instances of words and phrases which recall the Greek Testament.[1] Thus we find *ἐχρημάτισεν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον* (cf. Matthew ii. 12 *χρηματισθέντες κατ' ὄναρ*), *προεγέγραπτο*, 'had been publicly advertised' (cf. the Epistle to the Galatians iii. 1 *οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος*), *ἐπισυνστάντων*, 'conspired against' (cf. *ἐπισύστασις*, Acts of the Apostles xxiv. 12). But Maiistas's poem is written with elaborate straining after far-fetched and elevated phraseology, like *ἀργυραμοιβὸν τιμήν*, *καθυπνώοντι δεμνίῳ*, mixed with the *Κοινή*.

Maiistas shows a knowledge of Homeric scholarship, but he confuses *ὅπιν* with *ὅπα*, and *κλῄζω* with *κλείω*. The name occurs nowhere else, and the editors call it Egyptian.[2] Saistes occurs as the name of a presumably Egyptian priest in Rhodes, on a stone which was brought to Rhodes probably from the neighbouring town of Telmessus in Lycia. Dr. H. R. Hall prefers to think that the name is Anatolian. Masistes occurs as the name of a son of Darius and Atossa in Hdt. vii. 82, and Masistas is probably the right reading of a fictitious Persian name in Aeschylus, *Persae* 30.

Maiistas was probably an *Ἀρεταλόγος*, that is, a writer who

[1] G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*[3], Introd. xxx sqq.
[2] *I. G.* xii. 1, no. 33, p. 16.

celebrated the *ἀρεταί* of gods.[1] Sarapis had another *Ἀρεταλόγος* at Canopus, and Isis one in Delos. One example of *Ἀρεταλογία*, belonging to the first decade of the third century, has been found at Delphi.[2] It gives in wooden Hexameters the account of a miracle wrought upon a woman by Apollo.

In connexion with epideictic displays it is interesting to find mention of poetesses at this period, since the number of Greek poetesses can be counted on the fingers. Antipater of Thessalonica, an Epigrammatist of the Augustan age, celebrated the nine most famous.[3] Two of them, Moero of Byzantium and Nossis of Locri Epizephyrii, flourished about 300 B.C., and it is probable that a third, Anyte of Tegea, belonged to the later years of the fourth century. Two others were contemporaries of Asclepiades, Philaenis of Samos, and the Athenian Hedyle. Meleager also refers to Parthenis.[4] Perhaps Glauce of Chios, who is mentioned in Theocritus, may be added as a composer of drinking-songs.[5] It is strange at first sight that Aetolia should be a region in which poetesses are mentioned, for at the time of the Athenian Empire the Aetolians had a reputation for ferocity, and *μιξοβάρβαρος* is the epithet applied to the country by Euripides.[6] Thucydides says that they were believed to eat raw flesh,[7] and the legends

[1] Dittenberger[3], 1133. For the meaning of this word see Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 393 *n.*, and copious references in Dittenberger[3], 1172 *n.* Ἀρετή is 'Vis divina, quae mirabilem in modum hominibus laborantibus salutem affert'. So Isyllus ends his narrative of the cure wrought by Asclepius (*Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 135) *τιμῶν σὴν ἀρετήν*. The Hymn of Timotheus mentioned above by Alexander Aetolus would probably be an illustration of Ἀρεταλογία.

[2] *Eine delphische Mirakel-Inschrift*, O. Weinreich (Sitzungsb. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1924–5, 7. Abhandlung). It is therefore somewhat later than the records of marvellous cures at Epidaurus, which are of the last decade of the fourth; so that Weinreich can say that 'Apollo has gone to school with his successful son' Asclepius. It is usually only after 200 B.C. that we find Apolline miracles recorded for the edification of the devout and the encouragement of the doubters, and this was due to the Aretalogies of Sarapis.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* ix. 26. For an estimate of the Greek poetesses see F. A. Wright, *The Poets of the Greek Anthology*, pp. 77 sqq.

[4] *Anth. Pal.* iv. 1, 31, 32.

[5] Theocr. iv. 31 *καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ Γλαύκας ἀγκρούομαι*, 'only an instrumental composer', v. Christ, *Griech. Lit.*[6] ii. 1, p. 161; Hedylus ap. Athen. iv. 176 D *ηὖλει δὴ Γλαύκης μεμεθυσμένα παίγνια Μουσέων*.

[6] *Phoenissae* 138. [7] Thuc. iii. 94.

contained a reference to cannibalism in the story of Tydeus eating his fallen enemy's head. When a woman does appear in the legends, she is the virile heroine of romance, Atalanta, whose story is blended with that of Meleager and the Hunting of the Boar. But Aetolia had been coming to the front in the civilized Greek world,[1] and the Aetolian League is first heard of in 314. Then she took a prominent part in the campaign against the Galatae, and in the deliverance of Delphi from Brennus. She blossomed into poetry late with Alexander of Pleuron, generally known as Alexander Aetolus, who was born about 315.[2] Her women enjoyed a high social position, and statues of them were at this time dedicated at Delphi.[3]

A decree of the Tenians about the end of the third century contains the name of Alcinoe *Αἰτώλισσα* from Thronium in Locris, who celebrated the gods of Tenos, Zeus, Poseidon, and Amphitrite.[4] We learn also from an inscription about the same time (218–217) that Aristodama of Smyrna, an Epic poetess (*ποιητρία ἐπέων*), visited Lamia, a city which was situated not far from the head of the Malian Gulf, and which had joined the Aetolian League about 269, and gave many public recitations of her poems, in which she celebrated the Aetolians and their distinguished forefathers.[5] A tone of national pride runs through the official notice of the complimentary distinctions bestowed upon her.[6] 'It would be interesting to know', writes Mr. Tarn, 'what version [of the raid of the Galatae upon Greece, and of the active resistance organized by the Aetolians] was adopted by poets who sang of things Aetolian, such as the poetess of Smyrna.'[7]

It has lately been argued with some probability by H. Pomtow,[8] that Aristomache of Erythrae, whose 'Golden Book' was an *ἀνάθημα* in the treasury of the Sicyonians at

[1] Dittenberger[3], 402, 408; Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, s. v. Aetolians.
[2] The fragments are collected in *Collect. Alexandrina*, pp. 121 sqq.
[3] Dittenberger[3], nos. 511–14.
[4] *I. G.* xii. 5. 812 (not in Dittenberger).
[5] *I. G.* ix. 2. 62; Dittenberger[3], no. 532.
[6] *πλείονας ἐ[πιδείξεις] ἐποιήσατο τῶν ἰδίων ποιημάτων, ἐν οἷς περί τε τοῦ ἔθνεος τῶν Αἰτωλῶ[ν καὶ τ]ῶμ προγόνων τοῦ δάμου ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσθη μετὰ πάσας προθυμίας τὰν ἀπόδειξιμ ποιουμένα.*
[7] Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 441.
[8] *Zeitschr. f. Geschichte der Architektur*, iii. 140 sqq.

Delphi, belonged to this period. The text of Plutarch,[1] who makes the statement, is not certain, but probably she was victorious twice at the Isthmian Games with an Epic poem. Pomtow argues that the Sicyonians' treasury was erected about 369, and that, although Aristomache's *ἀνάθημα* may have been as early as the middle of the fourth century, the third is more likely.

To which of the cities named Erythrae she belonged is uncertain. K. O. Müller, Preller, and E. Maass, decide in favour of Erythrae in Boeotia; Crusius is in favour of the Ionian Erythrae, but he can quote no instance of any Ionian poetess except the Sibyl. But inscriptions mention a town of that name in Epicnemidian Locris, near Thermopylae,[2] not mentioned by Stephanus or Strabo, and also one in Ozolian Locris, bordering on Aetolia;[3] so perhaps Aristomache should be associated with the poetry of this western region.

There are also fragments of a few Epyllia in papyri.[4] One[5] consists of twenty-one lines, in which an unnamed old and poor woman addresses a lad whom she calls *τέκος*. She moralizes upon the loss of her wealth: *οἵη περ πεσσοῖο δίκη, τοιήδε καὶ ὅλβου,* which has taken wings to itself (*δινητῆσι πτερύγεσσι*): once she had owned lands and a vineyard and flocks of sheep, and had been hospitable; but now *διὰ πάντα κέδασσεν | ἥδ' ὀλοὴ βούβρωστις*, words which recall the entertaining story of Erysichthon in Callimachus.[6] And since there are also resemblances to the *Hecale*,[7] it might be thought that this is a fragment of that poem. But Professor Hunt points out that the circumstances of the two women are different, and he would refer it to 'some less polished poet of the Alexandrian school'. But we certainly see the work of a practised

[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* 675 B. The passage should probably run as follows: *τοῦ δὲ Πολέμωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς θησαυρῶν οἶμαι ὅτι πολλοῖς ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνειν ἐπιμελές ἐστι, καὶ χρή, πολυμαθοῦς καὶ οὐ νυστάζοντος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασιν ἀνδρός· ἐκεῖ τοίνυν εὑρήσετε γεγραμμένον, ὡς ἐν τῷ Σικυωνίων θησαυρῷ χρυσοῦν ἀνέκειτο βιβλίον Ἀριστομάχης ἀνάθημα τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ἐπικῷ ποιήματι δὶς Ἰσθμια νενικηκυίας.*

[2] Dittenberger[3], 413, line 2.

[3] Dittenberger[3], 546 B, line 35; cf. *I. G.* ix. 2. 7; cf. Livy xxviii. 8. 8.

[4] *Collect. Alex.*, pp. 78 sqq.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 78, from *Oxyrh. Pap.* xv. 1794.

[6] Callim. *H. Dem.* 31 sqq.

[7] Callim. *Hecale*, fr. 26, Mair.

writer who can express himself well, and handle the language with ease and effect.

There are also parts of twenty-five lines which R. Ganszyniec[1] regards with great probability as part of a Hymn to Hephaestus,[2] and which may be called provisionally *Ἥρας Λύσις*. There was a story[3] that Hephaestus, who had a grudge against his mother Hera for hurling him from heaven, made and sent her as a present a golden chair fitted with hidden fastenings, so that when she sat in it, she was a prisoner. It was a brilliant hypothesis of Wilamowitz,[4] based upon traces in Alcaeus and others, that an Ionic Hymn to Hephaestus once existed containing this story and belonging to the seventh century B. C., but lost 'when Athenian literature cast older work into the shade'. Ganszyniec would attribute this fragment to an Alexandrian author, and assign it to the first century of the Roman Empire.

In this account of the later Epic poetry we come finally to a variety of the Hexameter metre, the *μέτρον μείουρον*, that is, with the last foot an iambus instead of a trochee or spondee. Two collections of short poems intended to be sung to the flute have been discovered in Papyri of the first and third centuries.[5] The effect of this variation is not pleasing to our ear. To speak generally, the metre is late and mostly of Roman Imperial times; as for instance the anapaests in Lucian's *Tragoedo-podagra*,[6] and those which are printed in the Papyri from the Fayûm Towns.[7] If it were not for this, the conciseness, directness, and simplicity of the style might lead us to assign these collections to an earlier age, the middle or later Ptolemaic. They remind us of the short songs of Daphnis and Menalcas in the eighth Idyll of Theocritus. J. U. P.

[1] *Archiv f. Religionsw.* xxi. 498.

[2] *Collect. Alex.*, p. 245, where *Hymnus in Volcanum* would be a preferable title.

[3] There are several references to the story in Greek literature, the most familiar being Plato, *Rep.* ii. 378 D, and it appears in Greek vase-paintings. See Paus. i. 20. 3; iii. 17. 3; Roscher's *Lexicon*, s. v. Hephaistos.

[4] *Gött. Nachr.* 1895, 217 sqq.

[5] *Collectanea Alexandrina*, pp. 199–200, reprinted from *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i, no. 15, and xv, no. 1795. [6] Lucian, *Tragoedo-podagra*, 87 sqq.

[7] *Fayûm Towns Papyri*, pp. 82 sqq. On the metre see v. Wilamowitz–Moellendorff, *Griechische Verskunst*, 374; P. Maas, *Philol. Wochenschr.* 1922, no. 25. Fresh examples in the *Catalogue of the Lit. Pap. in the British Museum*, no. 52. For Bibliography see p. 223.

IV

NEW EPIGRAMS FROM INSCRIPTIONS

CONTENTS: New historical evidence and corroboration of old Inscriptions which correct the literary form in which they have been preserved—Style—Metre—Three examples.

IMMENSE as is the importance of Inscriptions for the historian, one feels a certain sympathy with Baron Hiller von Gaertringen's lady pupil, who found that the prose inscriptions which recorded public decrees were much less pretty than Epigrams. But the collections of poetical inscriptions which the Baron has used as material for his *Historische griechische Epigramme*, and which contain valuable material for the students of the history and the language, would gratify, and doubtless have gratified her literary taste.

The three compilers of 'Garlands' in the *Anthology*, Meleager, Philip of Thessalonica, and Agathias, did good work in collecting the best poems of the Epigrammatists named or unnamed, but the Epigrams of unknown writers which are preserved in inscriptions are for the reasons given above by no means to be despised. Many of these have come to light since the publication of the third volume of the 'Didot' edition of the *Anthology*, and of Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta* (1878) which was supplemented by an Appendix in *Hermes*, xxxiv. 181 sqq., bringing the record down to 1879. This chapter will be confined to discoveries made later than Kaibel's collections. The newly-discovered inscriptions, like the older, bring new historical facts and personages to our notice, or corroborate our previous knowledge. For instance, among new personages one Xanthippus of Elatea, upon whom there are two epigrams, 'twice freed his State from the tyrant's chain', once when he was a young man, and again in middle age.[1] The first occasion

[1] Geffcken, no. 173; von Hiller, nos. 86, 89; see Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 118, 119, and on the text and possible variants in no. 86, and on the history, Pomtow in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xii. 480, 507 sqq. Ditten-

was in 301 B.C., when Cassander besieged Elatea. Xanthippus was the Phocian leader who co-operated with Olympiodorus of Athens and raised the siege. The second occasion was probably in 285, and we learn some new particulars about it. He formed friendly relations with Lysimachus, who is the 'King of Macedonia' mentioned here, and who had command of the Thracian gold-mines, obtained a subsidy of money from him, and by using it, probably to bribe the garrison which Antigonus is known to have placed in Elatea, caused them to evacuate the place. For his services he was chosen *Ταγός* by the Phocians ten times.

Another inscription narrates an incident in a battle of the Boeotians, probably about 293 B.C. fought against the forces of Demetrius and Antigonus Gonatas.[1] One Eugnotus displayed great courage. He charged the enemy ten times with his troop of cavalry, and then slackened his breast-plate to fight more vigorously to the last. The enemy gave his body back unspoiled. There is also at Miletus an inscription of the tomb of the two sons of Menestheus, who supported Demetrius Soter in 162 B.C.[2]

Two long epitaphs[3] of the second half of the second century B.C. were composed by Herodes[4] upon the wife of a Ptolemy, Aphrodisia, and their son Apollonius. This Ptolemy was a relation of Euergetes II (Physcon), and held the rank of *πυρφόρος*. Apollonius had taken part in a campaign in Syria.

Out of epigrams on athletic victors may be selected an inscription at Delphi[5] after the years 476–475 which records the astonishing achievement of Theugenes of Thasos in the Panhellenic games, besides a thousand three hundred 'private'

berger, *Sylloge*[3], 361 B[4] and C contains a commentary on both inscriptions by Pomtow. The face of the stone on which the first epigram is inscribed (von Hiller, no. 86) is badly worn, and the letters are obliterated; hence the readings and restorations which von Hiller and Pomtow give are uncertain. *εὖτ' Ἐ[λάτειαν] | τὰν ἀπὸ Κασσάνδρου θῆκας ὑπ' εὐνομ[ίαν]* must mean 'when you placed Elatea which was freed from Cassander's grasp under the protection of good government': but the Greek is undeniably harsh.

[1] Geffcken, no. 189; von Hiller, no. 87.
[2] Geffcken, no. 226.
[3] Geffcken, no. 222.
[4] On his style see below, p. 56.
[5] von Hiller, no. 36.

victories, and his twenty-two years as an undefeated boxer; and one on Daochus,[1] Tetrarch of Thessaly, who dedicated in 337 B.C. the statues of his athletic ancestors, and of others who were distinguished in public life.[2]

Sometimes fresh information is given about persons already known. A Cretan memorial at Epidaurus[3] commemorates one Telemnastus of whom Polybius gives an account.[4] He had helped the Achaeans at the head of five hundred Cretans in their war against Nabis (in 202–201 B.C.), the Tyrant of Sparta, an action which afterwards stood his son Antiphatas (the grandson of the Antiphatas who is named in the epigram) in good stead with the Achaeans (153 B.C.), when Rhodes had a quarrel with Crete, and envoys from both sides asked them for help. The epigram, of the year 192, refers to this action of Telemnastus.

Sometimes celebrated names and events appear. There is a justifiable tone of patriotic pride in the dignified lines with which Lysander, the victor of Aegospotami, dedicated his statue at Delphi at the close of the fifth century.[5]

Εἰκόν' ἐὰν ἀνέθηκεν ἐπ' ἔργῳ τῷδ' ὅτε νικῶν
ναυσὶ θοαῖς πέρσεν Κεκροπιδᾶν δύναμιν
Λύσανδρος, Λακεδαίμον' ἀπόρθητον στεφανώσας,
Ἑλλάδος ἀκρόπολιν, καλλίχορον πατρίδα,

and the fifth and last line gives the name of the composer, Ion of Samos. Another small fragment corroborates the number of Lysander's ships recorded by Xenophon, two hundred.

The celebrated astronomer Callippus of Cyzicus, who invented the 'Callippic cycle', and lived in the middle of the fourth century, is commemorated in an epigram on a base at Delphi, of the date 345–335.[6] The exiled king Pausanias caused a statue to his son Hagesipolis I, King of Sparta, who died in 381–380, to be erected at Delphi. The inscription,[7]

[1] von Hiller, no. 76.
[2] Further examples of epigrams historically valuable will be found in von Hiller, nos. 67 and 103 = Geffcken, no. 174, von Hiller, nos. 100 and 68 = Geffcken, no. 152.
[3] Geffcken, no. 197. [4] Polybius, xxxiii. 16.
[5] Geffcken, no. 97; von Hiller, no. 58.
[6] Geffcken, no. 124.
[7] Geffcken, no. 127; von Hiller, no. 64.

like the preceding and many others, was renewed in the first half of the second century, after the Aetolians had become predominant at Delphi.

Philip V, who in alliance with the Achaeans had often waged war against the Aetolians and Sparta, is honoured by Epidaurus.[1]

New names of sculptors appear. Delos, where the earliest inscriptions are dedications, with the signatures of the artists, has yielded the earliest instance of the name of a Greek statuary, Euthycartides of Naxos, of the end of the seventh century.[2] Later examples came from Delphi:[3] Ergophilus, mentioned thrice, of the second half or end of the fourth century B.C.; Eteocles, son of Eugnotus, of the beginning of the third century; Eubulides, son of Callias, of Athens; the name is lost from this inscription, but is inferred with certainty from another; he lived about the middle of the third century: lastly, Simalus is now shown to belong to the first half of the third century.

Two inscriptions are valuable for a literary reason. They are written in dialect, and enable us to correct the manuscript authorities which have preserved them, but literary forms. Such corrections have been made elsewhere, in other epigrams which are written in dialect; but only by conjecture.

The first is on the base of a lost statue, and was found at Olympia. The statue on which the base stood was that of Cynisca, who Pausanias tells us was the first woman to keep a racing stud and to be the winner at the Olympic games. The epigram,[4] which is of the date 396–392 B.C. is mutilated, but is given complete in the Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* xiii. 16); but where the stone preserves the Doric forms τανδ' εϙτᾳσε [εστασα?] and λαβεν the Palatine MS. gives the alterations τήνδ' ἔστησε and λαβεῖν. Cynisca was the daughter of Agis, King of Sparta, and sister of Agesilaus, who urged her ἁρματοτροφεῖν, with what appears at first sight to be worldly and

[1] Geffcken, no. 174; von Hiller, no. 103; Polybius, iv. 67 sqq., v. 18 sqq.
[2] Durrbach, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos*, p. 2, *I. G.* xii. 5, *Testim.* 1425a.
[3] A. Pomtow, *Delphika*, ii, Berlin. Phil. Woch., 1909, p. 283.
[4] Geffcken, no. 129; von Hiller, no. 63.

ironical advice: *τὸ θρέμμα τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀλλὰ πλούτου ἐπίδειγμά ἐστι*,[1] but the passage that follows shows that Agesilaus is thinking of the use of wealth for public purposes, that of making friends for one's country abroad, and being its benefactor at home.

The second[2] refers to an important event and illustrates greater corruption. Plutarch[3] and Favorinus in the orations of Dio Chrysostom[4] preserve the following epigram of four lines upon the Corinthians who fell at Salamis. Its date is therefore soon after 480.

Ὦ ξεῖν', εὔυδρόν ποτ' ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου,
νῦν δ' ἄμ' Αἴαντος νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμίς.
Ἐνθάδε φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἐλόντες
καὶ Μήδους, ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα.

There are variant readings in the third and fourth lines, *ἐνθάδε* and *ῥυόμεθα* in Plutarch, *ῥεῖα δέ* and *ἰδρυσάμεθα* in Favorinus, and the lines are not satisfactory, because the Persians and the Medes were the same, and the shortening of the last syllable in *Πέρσᾰς* is not possible.

But an inscription found at Salamis preserves the first two lines of the four which Plutarch and the pseudo-Dio give, and those two lines only, although there is space for two more lines on the stone. It is written in the Corinthian alphabet, perhaps including a Koppa,[5] and contains the correct Doric forms *ποκα* and *ἐναίομες*, but these have altered in the literary texts. The fragment runs]*ον ποκ εναιομες αστυ κορινθο* (*κ manu secunda*)

]*ντος*[ ]Ϛ[

We are thus able to correct the handiwork of the improver of the first two lines, and to remove that of the forger of the third and fourth. Favorinus (the pseudo-Dio) attributes the epigram to Simonides.

[1] Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, ch. ix, § 6.
[2] Geffcken, no. 96; Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 18.
[3] Plut. *Mor.* 870 E. [4] *Or.* xxxvii, p. 298, Dind.
[5] The stone, as can be well seen in H. Roehl's *Imagines Inscriptionum Graecarum*, p. 44, exhibits K cut across another letter; but whether that letter was Ϙ, as Wilhelm thinks, or ⊙ anticipating by an error the ⊙ in *κορινθο*, is uncertain: see Wilhelm, *Österr. Jahresb.* ii. 227.

A slight correction of a statement in Plutarch can be made from a third. Among the many statues of Alexander the Great made by Lysippus was one representing him in a lion-hunt, and it is mentioned by Plutarch.[1] But we now have the inscription which was placed upon it, and which shows that Plutarch was not quite right when he said that Craterus, Alexander's general, dedicated it. The inscription shows that he vowed it, but that his son, also named Craterus, erected it.[2] The elder Craterus fell in battle in 321 B.C.

In these short poems the quality of the style varies. Often a touch of distinction appears. The following distich of the sixth century is worthy of Simonides:

Ἄνθρωφ', ὃς στείχεις καθ' ὁδὸν φρασὶν ἄλλα μενοινῶν,
στῆθι καὶ οἴκτιρον σῆμα Θράσωνος ἰδών.[3]

and

Οἵδε παρ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπώλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἦβην
βαρνάμενοι, σφετέραν δ' ηὐκλέϊσαν πατρίδα,
ὥστ' ἐχθροὺς στεναχεῖν πολέμου θέρος ἐκκομίσαντας·
αὐτοῖς δ' ἀθάνατον μνῆμ' ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν.[4]

The following epigram, given here in the original spelling, is of the best period, about the middle of the fifth century B.C., and comes from Halicarnassus:

Αὐδὴ τεχνήεσσα λίθο λέγε, τίς τόδ' [ἄγαλμα]
στῆσεν, Ἀπόλλωνος βωμὸν ἐπαγλαϊ[ὼν];
Παναμύης υἱὸς Κασβώλλιος, εἴ μ' ἐπ[οτρύνεις]
ἐξειπεῖν, δεκάτην τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε [θεῶι).[5]

The phrase *Αὐδὴ τεχνήεσσα λίθου* is bold and striking. The epigram is noticeable as being one of the two early instances of a dialogue between a statue and an imaginary passer-by,

[1] Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* xl.

[2] von Hiller, no. 82: Υἱὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου [*sc.* Alexander of Orestis] Κράτερος τάδε τὠπόλλωνι | ηὔξατο [= ἃ ηὔξατο] τιμάεις καὶ πολύδοξος ἀνήρ, | στᾶσε, τὸν ἐμ μεγάροις ἐτεκνώσατο καὶ λίπε παῖδα, | πᾶσαν ὑποσχεσίαν πατρὶ τελῶν, Κράτερος, κτλ.

[3] Geffcken, no. 41.

[4] Geffcken, no. 86; von Hiller, no. 52, of the year 440–439; on the Athenians who fell in a campaign on the Hellespont. The spelling is that of the Attic alphabet. On the form *βαρνάμενοι* see Kühner-Blass, i. 1, p. 155.

[5] *Supplementum Epigraphicum*, i, no. 424.

the other instance being attributed to Simonides.[1] The form does not become common till the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century.[2]

Many would have been worthy of incorporation into the Anthology; some certainly deserve a place in narrative Elegiac poetry; take, for instance, a vivid description of the chariot-race in which Attalus, the father of Attalus I, was victorious.[3] The incident is told in an animated style, with a racing dactylic movement. *Αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι | ἐγράφεθ', Ἑλλάνων ταῖς τόκα μυριάσιν*, 'the picture of him in their minds', is a bold touch. Or again, the fate of the lad Diotimus,[4] whom a wicked man in the Gymnasium wounded by throwing at him a spear which had an unprotected point. A rude attempt at extraction was made, but the wound was mortal. The poem on the gallant Eugnotus, the Boeotian knight mentioned above, is another of these vivid pieces of narrative in Elegiacs.

In a very different tone, that of the ironists of this age, is an epigram of the latest Hellenistic time from Astypalaea:

Μή μοι πεῖν φέρεθ' ὧδε μάτην, πέποται γὰρ ὅτ' ἔζων,
μηδὲ φαγεῖν· ἀρκεῖ· φλήναφός ἐστι τάδε.
Εἰ δ' ἔνεκεν μνήμης τι καὶ ὢν ἐβίωσα σὺν ὑμεῖν
ἢ κρόκον ἢ λιβάνους δῶρα φέρεσθε, φίλοι,
τοῖς μ' ὑποδεξαμένοις ἀντάξια ταῦτα διδόντες,
ταῦτ' ἐνέρων· ζώντων δ' οὐδὲν ἔχουσι νεκροί.[5]

It resembles *Anth. Pal.* xi. 8 (Anonymous).

Μὴ μύρα, μὴ στεφάνους λιθίναις στήλαισι χαρίζου,
μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ φλέξῃς· ἐς κενὸν ἡ δαπάνη.
ζῶντί μοι εἴ τι θέλεις χάρισαι· τέφρην δὲ μεθύσκων
πηλὸν ποιήσεις, κοὐχ ὁ θανὼν πίεται.

Most are in a good Alexandrian style, that is, written with

[1] *Anth. Lyr.* (Diehl) Simon. 149.

[2] See an article upon this Inscription by H. J. Rose, *Classical Review*, xxxvii. 162.

[3] The epigram is given at the end of this chapter (no. 2).

[4] Geffcken, no. 213.

[5] Geffcken, no. 209. This was first published by Dr. Rouse in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxvi, p. 178. His punctuation in line 1 is preferable to that of Crönert and Geffcken, who give *ὧδε· μάτην πέποται γάρ*. In the third line they alter *τι* to *τε*, perhaps rightly. The word *Κλευμάτρας* which is carved below the inscription refers probably to the person commemorated, not to the composer.

skill in a finished style showing a literary tradition; for instance, an epigram of the third century B.C., found at Anticyra in Phocis, commemorating Aristarchus, who it is natural to suppose fell in action against the Gauls in the invasion of 278.

Οἷς ἀρετῆς κατὰ πάντα μέλει βίον, οἵδε τάχιστα
θνήσκουσι στυγερῶν ἐγ ξυνοχαῖς πολέμων,
ὧγ καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος πάτρας ὕπερ ἀσπίδ' ἀείρας
ὤλετο δυσμενέωμ φῦλον ἀμυνόμενος.

The Phocians played a conspicuous part in the defence of Delphi.[1]

Or again, one of the third century B.C. commemorating Philoxenus who died at Caunus, the station of the fleet in the time of the Ptolemies:

Οὐκέτι δὴ μήτηρ σε, Φιλόξενε, δέξατο χερσὶν
σὰν ἐρατὰν χρονίως ἀμφιβαλοῦσα δέρην,
οὐδὲ μετ' ἀϊθέων ἀν' ἀγακλυτὸν ἦλυθες ἄστυ
γυμνασίου σκιερῷ γηθόσυνος δαπέδῳ,
ἀλλά σου ὀστέα πηγὰ πατὴρ θέτο τεῖδε κομίσσας,
Καῦνος ἐπεὶ μαλερῷ σάρκας ἔδαυσε πυρί.[2]

Again:

Ἀνδρόμαχος μέγα πένθος, Ἀριστάνακτος[3] *ἀδελφοῦ*
κάλπιν, ἐπ' ἄστυ Πάφου πάτριον ἴξει ἄγων.
Πρέσβυ, σὺ δ' οὐχὶ τροφεῖα τὰ δ' ὀστέα παιδὸς ἐπόψει
Μεννέα, ἐν ξείνῃ γῇ Ῥοδίων φθιμένου.[4]

[1] *I.G.* xi. 4. 1105; *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 31 (F. Durrbach): an epigram probably of the same time on Philetaerus of Pergamum:

...δυσπολέμοις Γαλάταις θοὸν Ἄρεα μείξας
ἤλασας οἰκείων πολλὸν ὑπερθεν ὅρων κτλ.

[2] *Bull. Soc. Archéol. d'Alexandrie*, 1902, p. 88; Wilamowitz in *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.*, 1902, p. 1097, giving ἔδαυσε for ἔδευσε of the stone.

[3] The form Ἀριστᾶναξ is strictly speaking incorrect; the right form would be Ἀριστοάναξ like Πλειστοάναξ, or Ἀριστῶναξ (from Amathus, fourth century B.C., and in one inscription from Miletus, written, as many from Miletus are, in Doric, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xlvi, p. 344), like Πλειστῶναξ, Ἱππῶναξ, -οα contracting into -ω- in all dialects (cf. Buck, *Introduction to the Gk. Dial.* 5. 44): the Rhodian Τιμᾶναξ comes from Τιμᾱ- (*ϝ*)αναξ, ib. 5. 167. But several instances like the one before us are found in Rhodian inscriptions; cf. Collitz and Bechtel, iii. 1. 3822, Ἀριστάνασσα, Ἀριστάνακτος, see the Index, p. 645: Hoffmann is of the opinion that the form may be on the analogy of Ἀριστάνωρ. Κλειτάνασσα comes from the neighbouring Telos, *I.G.* xii. 3, no. 40, second century B.C.

[4] Geffcken, no. 180; *I.G.* xii. 1. 140; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xxix. 576.

But we observe a laboured and wooden style in one epitaph where we should not have expected it.[1] The epitaph is of the second century B. C., and is on an old Schoolmaster of Rhodes, who had taught for fifty-two years.

It is noticeable that the later they are, the more diffuse they become; and artificiality appears with elaborated phrasing. Thus an epitaph of the middle of the first century from Kertsch contains the following:

Τεὸν δ' ὅλωλε κάλλος, ἔσβεσται χάρις,
φρόνησις ἔπτη, πάντα συνφορᾶς γέμει·
ὁ τῆς γὰρ ἀρετῆς μοῦνος ἐκλάσθης κανών.[2]

But

Γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ εἰς ταὐτὸ τέχνῃ συναγόντων[3]

is an ingenious yet simple paraphrase for 'potters' (fourth to third century B. C.), and

χάλκεον ὧσε νέφος,[4] and *δήμου φθεγξάμεθ' ἐν πελάγει,*[5] are formed after good models; so also

ἀζόμενοι Μούσαις, τὸν ἀοίδιμον αἴ σε τιθηνοῖς
χερσὶ Πλατωνείους θρέψαν ὑπ' ἀτραπιτούς,[6]

But *ὁπλίτην αὐλὸν Ἐνυαλίου,*[7] is a bolder expression;[8] so too *οὗτος ὁ δήμου | ῥυτὴρ καὶ πόλεως ἡνιοχῶν βίοτον*[9] (about the middle of the second century B. C.).

There are few inscriptions which reveal the character of the writer more clearly than one of the fourth century B.C. which was lately found in Thessaly,[10] describing a shrine in a cave west of Pharsalus in the district of *Ἀλογοπάτι* ('Horsepath') on the hills now called *Καράμπλα* or *Πράσινο Βουνό* ('Green Hill'). The guardian, happily named Pantalces, describes the shrine

[1] *I. G.* xii. 1. 141. The text is given at the end of this article, no. 3.
[2] Geffcken, no. 224.
[3] Geffcken, no. 123.
[4] Geffcken, no. 189, 4.
[5] Geffcken, no. 207, 6.
[6] von Hiller, no. 102, 5 (after 220 B. C.).
[7] von Hiller, no. 104, 10 (of 217 B. C.).
[8] Compare such phrases as *ἐκ βύβλων ψυχῆς ὄμματι δρεψάμενον* (Geffcken, no. 199, 4 = Kaibel, 852, second century B. C.; *πέτρα καθύπερθ' ἀγορεύει, | τὸν νέκυν ἀφθόγγῳ φθεγγομένα στόματι*, Geffcken, no. 179, 4 = Kaibel, 234, third century B. C.
[9] Geffcken, no. 225.
[10] *Supplementum Epigraphicum*, i, no. 248. The inscription will be found in full at the end of this chapter, no. 1.

in a simple and naïve way, with genial self-satisfaction. He welcomes all the world with a comprehensive greeting:

> *Χαίρετε τοὶ παριόντες, ἅπας θῆλύς τε καὶ ἄρσην,*
> *ἄνδρες τ' ἠδὲ γυναῖκες, ὁμῶς παῖδές τε κόραι τε,*

telling us that the Nymphs appointed 'the good man Pantalces to be the guardian, and that he planted the spot and did all the labour to it himself, while they in return gave him *βίον ἄφθονον ἤματα πάντα'*. Heracles gave him courage and strength, whereby he made the stones rise:

> *Ἡρακλέης μὲν ἔδωκ' ἰσχὺν ἀρετήν τε κράτος τε,*
> *ὥπερ τούσδε λίθους τύπτων ἐπόησ' ἀναβαίνειν,*

and Apollo, Asclepius, and Hermes gave him health all his life. He was a merry soul, with a good conceit of himself:

> *Πὰν δὲ γέλωτα καὶ εὐφροσύνην ὕβριν τε δικαίαν,*
> *Χίρων δ' αὐτῷ δῶκε σοφόν τ' ἔμεναι καὶ ἀοιδόν,*

the touch 'just pride' is delightfully ingenuous. He ends with an appeal to all, and a promise of the delights which they will find:

> *ἀλλὰ τύχαις ἀγαθαῖς ἀναβαίνετε, θύετε Πανί,*
> *εὔχεσθ', εὐφραίνεσθε· κακῶν δ' ἔξαρσις ἁπάντων*
> *ἐνθάδ' ἔνεστ', ἀγαθῶν δὲ λάχος, πολέμοιό τε λῆξις.*

In such surroundings and with such a guardian one can well believe it.

Some metrical points may be noticed. Two early inscriptions, one of the sixth century, the other of the first half of the fifth, exhibit the scansion *τόδε μνῆμα*, an exception allowed by Hephaestion to the rule.[1]

Of Herodes[2] the composer Wilamowitz says pithily 'Dichter ist er nicht, aber Verse machen kann er noch'. This is too kind, for he violates the law which forbids caesura of the dactyl in the fourth foot, ends the first half of the pentameter *εἶσω γᾶς*,[3] and takes the licences *εὔνοϊα* twice, and *γλυκεῖαν*,

[1] See Tyrrell on Euripides, *Bacchae* 71, Hephaestion, p. 6 Consbr.: *Ἤδη μέντοι ἡ διὰ τοῦ ῑν σύνταξις ἐποίησέ που καὶ βραχεῖαν, ὡς παρὰ Κρατίνῳ ἐν Πανόπταις* (154 K) *ἀλλοτριογνώμοις ἐπιλήσμοσι μνημονικοῖσι.*

[2] See above, p. 48; Wilamowitz in *Archiv f. Pap.* i, p. 219.

[3] Geffcken, no. 222, i. 18, ii. 5.

γλυκεῖον.[1] 'Yet', adds Wilamowitz, 'this Egyptian composer of the second half of the second century is not to be despised,' though his language is not that of the best period.

The shortening of the ω in ἥρωες, which most editors accept in some passages of Homer,[2] and which is also found in Pindar, and has been confirmed by the newly discovered papyrus fragments of Ibycus, ἥρωας ἐσθλούς,[3] is found in the middle of the third century and in the first century B.C. The scansion[4] ναὐάρχων (405–404 B.C.) is noticeable. In Mr. McKenzie's opinion it is not so much to be compared with Pindar's αὐάταν, as with εὔωνον and θηρεύει in Hipponax,[5] and ἀποσκεύῃ in the poet Ezekiel (second century B.C.).

We should hesitate to call 'barbarian' the author of an inscription of 281 B.C.[6] which contains the line

πεζομάχος δ' ἱππείας ἐν προμάχοισιν ἔμεινα,

and to stigmatize him for the want of a caesura, even if he is a Bithynian, for clearly what is required is ἱππῆας, to be contrasted with πεζομάχος: the plural of the abstract noun appears indeed in two lyrical passages—in Euripides, *Phoenissae* 794, and *Hercules Furens* 374—but it is less suitable here. One mistake, as often, has created another, and for ἐν we must write ἐνὶ.[7]

Nor are we to suppose that Pantalces wrote a line without a caesura, when the stone exhibits in line 5:

Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἑταίροις.[8]

The last short syllable in ἄνακτι shows, as the editors have seen, that καί has fallen out simply by lipography after the preceding syllable. If there is one thing more than another about which Greek writers in Hexameters and Elegiacs are careful, it is the caesura, whether in the third foot or in the

[1] Geffcken, no. 222, ii. 13, 16.
[2] Geffcken, no. 176, 5 = Kaibel, 781; Geffcken, no. 195 = Kaibel, 825.
[3] *Oxyrh. Pap.* xv, no. 1790, line 19.
[4] von Hiller, no. 59. [5] Kühner-Blass, i. 1, p. 313.
[6] Geffcken, no. 190, 3; von Hiller, no. 91.
[7] E. Preuner makes the same suggestion in *Philol. Woch.* 1927, no. 12.
[8] Quoted below from *Supplementum Epigraphicum*, i, no. 248.

fourth. Ὦνα in line 7 is merely pronunciation affecting writing.

Θεός.
Χαίρετε τοὶ παριόντες, ἅπας θῆλύς τε καὶ ἄρσην,
ἄνδρες τ' ἠδὲ γυναῖκες, ὁμῶς παῖδές τε κόραι τε,
χῶρον δ' εἰς ἱερὸν Νύμφαις καὶ Πανὶ καὶ Ἑρμῇ,
Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι ⟨καὶ⟩ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἑταίροις,
Χίρωνός τ' ἄντρον καὶ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ ἠδ' Ὑγιείας.
τούτων ἐστὶ τάδ', ὦ ἄνα Πάν, ἰαρώτατ' ἐν αὐτῷ
ἔμφυτα καὶ πίνακες καὶ ἀγάλματα δῶρά τε πολλά.
ἄνδρα δ' ἐποιήσαντ' ἀγαθὸν Παντάλκεα Νύμφαι
τῶνδ' ἐπιβαινέμεναι χώρων καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι,
ὅσπερ ταῦτ' ἐφύτευσε καὶ ἐξεπονήσατο χερσίν,
ἀντίδοσαν δ' αὐτῷ βίον ἄφθονον ἤματα πάντα.
Ἡρακλέης μὲν ἔδωκ' ἰσχὺν ἀρετήν τε κράτος τε,
ᾧπερ τούσδε λίθους τύπτων ἐπόησ' ἀναβαίνειν,
Ἀπόλλων δὲ δίδωσι καὶ υἱὸς τοῦδε καὶ Ἑρμῆς
αἰῶν' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα ὑγίειαν καὶ βίον ἐσθλόν,
Πὰν δὲ γέλωτα καὶ εὐφροσύνην ὕβριν τε δικαίαν,
Χίρων δ' αὐτῷ δῶκε σοφόν τ' ἔμεναι καὶ ἀοιδόν.
ἀλλὰ τύχαις ἀγαθαῖς ἀναβαίνετε, θύετε Πανί,
εὔχεσθ' εὐφραίνεσθε· κακῶν δ' ἔξαρσις ἁπάντων
ἐνθάδ' ἔνεστ', ἀγαθῶν δὲ λάχος, πολέμοιό τε λῆξις.

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, i, no. 248.

Πολλὰ μὲν ἐγ Λιβύης ἦλθ' ἅρματα, πολλὰ δ' ἀπ' Ἄργευς,
πολλὰ δὲ πιείρης ἦλθ' ἀπὸ Θεσσαλίης,
οἷσιν ἐνηριθμεῖτο καὶ Ἀττάλου· ἀθρόα δ' ὕσπληξ
πάντα διὰ στρεπτοῦ τείνατ' ἔχουσα κάλω·
[ἦ] μέγ' ἐπαχήσασα θοὰς ἐξήλασε πώλους,
αἱ δὲ διὰ σταδίου πυκνὸν ὄρεγμ' ἔφερον,
ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλα θέουσαι· ὁ δ' Ἀττάλου ἶσος ἀέλλῃ
δίφρος ἀεὶ προτέραν ποσσὶν ἔφαινε κόνιν,
Χοὶ μὲν ἔτ' ἀμπνείοντες ἐδήριον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι
ἐγράφεθ', Ἑλλάνων ταῖς τόκα μυριάσιν·
Φήμα δ' εἰς Φιλέταιρον ἀοίδιμος ἦλθε καὶ οἴκους
Περγάμου Ἀλείῳ τεισαμένα στεφάνῳ.

Geffcken, no. 177; von Hiller, no. 98.

The epitaph on the Schoolmaster of Rhodes has been restored as follows:

Γράμματ' ἐδίδαξεν ἔτεα πεντήκονθ' ὅδε,
δύο τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ εὐσεβῶν χῶρός σφ' ἔχει,
Πλούτων γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ Κόρη κατῴκισαν,

Ἑρμῆς τε καὶ δᾳδοῦχος Ἑκάτη προσφιλῆ
ἅπασιν εἶναι μυστικῶν τ' ἐπιστάτην
ἔταξαν αὐτὸν πίστεως πάσης χάριν.

Αὐτὸς ἐσελθών, ξεῖνε, σαφῶς μάθε πόσσα μαθητῶν
πλήθη τοὺς πολιοὺς στέψαν ἐμοὺς κροτάφους.

I. G. xii. 1. 141.

The date is the beginning of the second century B. C.

J. U. P.

Chief collections referred to:

Griechische Epigramme, J. Geffcken.

Historische Griechische Epigramme, F. Hiller von Gaertringen.

V

ADDITIONS TO THE CHAPTERS ON LATER LYRIC POETRY AND THE MORALISTS IN THE FIRST SERIES

The Paean of Limenius and the other Delphic 'Hymns,' Philicus, Tebtunis Papyrus, Phoenix.

THE circumstances of the two Paeans have been determined by Dittenberger, *Sylloge Insc. Gr.*[3], no. 698. The inscription records the compliments bestowed upon the *Synodus artificum* of Athens for having gratuitously performed at the Pythiad Festival at Delphi in 128–127 B.C.

It contains a list of forty singers and many instrumentalists:—*ἀκροάματα τὰ συναυξήσοντα τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμέρας.* One of them was the poet Limenius himself, who was a harper; and as there is room on the broken stone for a short name, it may have contained that of the composer of the other Paean.

In addition to the Lyric poets treated of above, there is Cleochares of Athens[1] (about 227 B.C.), who receives complimentary honours, and the special distinction which is conveyed in the following resolution:

Ἐπειδὴ . . . ἐπιδαμήσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν γέγραφε τῶι θεῶι ποθόδιόν τε καὶ παιᾶνα καὶ ὕμνον, ὅπως αἴδωντι οἱ παῖδες τᾶι θυσίαι τῶν Θεοξενίων, ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι, δεδόχθαι τᾶι πόλει τὸμ μὲν χοροδιδάσκαλον τὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γενόμενον διδάσκειν τοὺς παῖδας τό τε ποθόδιον καὶ τὸμ παιᾶνα καὶ τὸν ὕμνον, καὶ εἰσάγειν τοῖς Θεοξενίοις.

It was thought at one time that he was the writer of the two Delphic Paeans of which we have treated, but that view is now given up.

Local legends were laid under contribution. Thus between 290 and 280 B.C. the Delians pass a laudatory vote upon Demoteles, son of Aeschylus, of Andros, because *πεπραγμάτευται περί τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Δηλίων, καὶ τοὺς μύθους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους γέγραφεν.*[2] It is probable that these were Prosodia

[1] Dittenberger[3], no. 450.

[2] Dittenberger[3], no. 382.

or Hymns. Delian legends were treated in Lyric poems by Amphicles, son of Philoxenus, of Rhenea, who in 165–164 was honoured by the Athenian inhabitants of Delos because he had composed a Prosodion, and taught the singers of it.[1]

Ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφικλῆς μουσικὸς καὶ μελῶν ποιητὴς ἀκροάσεις καὶ πλείους ἐποήσατο, καὶ προσόδιον γράψας ἐμμελὲς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τούς τε θεοὺς τοὺς τὴν νῆσον κατέχοντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὕμνησεν, ἐδίδαξεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν παῖδας πρὸς λύραν τὸ μέλος ἄδειν ἀξίως τῆς τε τῶν θεῶν τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου, ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν εὔχρηστον ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζειν κάθοτι ἂν ᾖ δυνατός, δεδόχθαι κτλ.

Philicus (Φίλικος).

It was mentioned in the first series of *New Chapters*[2] that a papyrus of the third century B.C. preserved part of an Epigram on the death of Philicus, one of the Alexandrian 'Tragic Pleiad', and that therefore the composition of the Epigram was contemporary with its subject. It is a coincidence that another papyrus contemporary with him has lately come to light, preserving portions of thirty-two lines of a poem by him.[3] This poem is a hymn to Demeter, probably composed for the celebration of the Demetria at Alexandria, written in lines consisting of five Choriambics with an Amphibrachys or a Bacchius as a final clausula (∪ – ⏑). Simias before him had made this the basis of his *Πέλεκυς* and *Πτέρυγες*,[4] and the choriambic pentameter was the metre of Callimachus' *Βράγχος*; but, Hephaestion adds, Philicus was the first to write a poem entirely in this metre.[5] The subject is the pining of Demeter after the loss of Persephone, the dearth which she sent upon the earth, and Iambe's rude jesting designed to cheer her, and the Hymn is cast in the form of a dialogue between Demeter and Iambe.[6] The editor makes the interesting announcement that other fragments of the Hymn are in the possession of another scholar, and that it will be possible

[1] Dittenberger[3], no. 662.
[2] p. 107.
[3] Medea Norsa in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, v (1927), p. 87.
[4] *Collect. Alexandr.*, pp. 116, 117.
[5] Hephaestion, pp. 30, 31 Consbr.
[6] Hom. *Hymn to Demeter*, 194 sqq.

to unite the beginning and the end of some of the broken lines. One line has already been put together in this way, running thus :

οὐ τόδε πεινῶντι θεῷ [φάρ]μακον, ἀλλ' ἀμβροσία γαστρὸς ἔρεισμα λεπτῆς

the style of which is in keeping with the tradition.

Tebtunis Papyri, i, p. 3.

The meaning of the pretty passage mentioned in the First Series, pp. 56, 57, requires some attention, and I am indebted to Professor Poulton for his help, and to the late Rev. F. D. Morice, who was an authority upon Mediterranean apiology, and to the criticism of Mr. E. E. Genner.

Mr. Morice thinks it highly probable that the species described is *Chalicodoma Sicula*, perhaps the most abundant and conspicuous of all Mediterranean Megachilidae, and recorded by Storey as abundant everywhere in Egypt, and equally abundant all over South Europe and North Africa. He thinks too, that, while the description is founded mainly on personal observation, the writer may be recollecting existing literature, both scientific and poetical. For instance, Aristotle at the end of the third book of his treatise *Περὶ ζῴων γενέσεως* says that *μέλιτται* (as distinguished from 'Kings' and 'Drones') are *ἐργατίδες*,[1] and non-mating, and so producing no offspring. *Δυσέρωτες* then will mean 'averse from love', Virgil's 'nec corpora segnes In Venerem solvunt'.[2] *Λιπόκεντροι*, he continues, can hardly mean 'leaving their sting behind' : the poet would not lay stress on this reprehensible habit of the hive-bee worker, when he is saying all that he can in the bee's favour. It means 'stingless', like *λιπόρρινος*, 'skinless', where *λίπο-*, properly implying loss, as in *λίπουρος*, *λιπαυγής*, is made equivalent to *ἀ-*. Such compounds were formed with great freedom by later poets.[3] If it be objected that wild bees are not stingless, the answer is that any one accustomed

[1] 759 A, but see Platt's translation : 'The workers do occasionally lay parthenogenetic eggs', and his criticism of Aristotle there.
[2] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 198, 199.
[3] Especially Nonnus.

to watch them at work would soon find out that they were practically quite inoffensive, and were distinguishable by this from the irritable hive-bee. They do indeed sting when taken in the fingers, but would not attack like the hive-bee when its hive is approached.[1] If the poet did not handle them, he would think that they were stingless.

The epithet *πηλουργός* is particularly appropriate to the species *Chalicodoma*, which visibly collect, prepare, transport, and mould into shape their building materials.

Ἀσκεπεῖς are wild bees which have no hive (the resemblance, however, to our dialectical word 'skep', i.e. 'bee-skep', is purely accidental); and our poet, who says *νέκταρ ἀρύτουσιν*, is more correct than the naturalist, who says *μέλι κομίζειν*.[2]

Ξουθὸ—in *ξουθόπτεροι*—cannot here refer to the sound of the bees, for that is given in *βαρυαχεῖς*, and anyhow *ξουθός*, when used unmistakably of a sound, describes a high sound, as of *τέττιγες*, or of the twittering of swallows;[3] nor if it refers to colour can it mean 'with tawny wings', for that is not true. Hence the force of *-πτεροι* is separate from that of *ξουθο-* and the word is more picturesque than the simple *ξουθός*, like *λευκόπτερος*. *Βαρυαχεῖς* well expresses the noise arising from *Chalicodoma* when on the wing in numbers. Lastly, *πιθαναί*, if it means 'willingly obedient', 'dutiful', 'law-abiding', Virgil's 'certis sub legibus', is not suited to this species, which, though gregarious, is not social.[4] Even if it were possible to render it 'charming', it would be a weak epithet. It rather refers to the idealized bee of poets.

PHOENIX

In *Gött. Gel. Nachr.* 1922, vol. i, pp. 17 sqq. W. Crönert published some details of an anthology of songs from Tragedy (Strassb. W. G. *recto* 304–7), and a brief notice of the *verso* which contains part of an anthology of iambic verse of a moralizing type, resembling in its contents so closely P. Heid. 310 (Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon*, ed. G. A. Gerhard,

[1] Fabre, *Insect Life*, p. 301.
[2] Aristot., p. 759 A.
[3] Wilam. on Eur. *Herakl.* 488, and Rutherford, *Babrius*, cxviii. 1.
[4] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 154.

Teubner, 1909, *Coll. Alex.*, pp. 213, 216), that it is difficult to suppose that they are not part of the same collection. The most complete page is more fully published in *Herodes, Cercidas, and Greek Choliambic Fragments* (Loeb series: ed. A. D. Knox), and includes, like the Heidelberg fragment, a citation in Choliambics, presumably to be attributed on stylistic and metrical grounds to Phoenix of Colophon (*fr.* 4 K.). The poem is clearly on the loss of a friend who was a poet, and Lynceus is mentioned: but it is not clear whether Lynceus is the poet, or is to take the place of the dead man as friend and protector of the writer. One theory holds that as Phoenix here addresses a Lynceus, and, in the Heidelberg poem (*fr.* 3 K.), a Posidippus, it may be presumed that these are the two writers of Attic comedy known to have been friends and correspondents (Meineke, *F. C. G.* i, pp. 458, 482–4). A slight difficulty lies in the fact that the hand of P. Strassb. W. G. dates from 240 B.C. at latest, whereas Lynceus survived Menander, and Posidippus did not exhibit at any rate till after Menander's death. Further, a phrase in *v.* 2 of the Heidelberg poem suggests rather the Epigrammatist Posidippus than the Attic comedian. The most interesting feature of the papyrus is that it establishes a very early date for anthologies of moralist iambic poems, perhaps even earlier than the earliest date yet suggested—the youth of Cercidas of Megalopolis. J. U. P.

PROSE

I

FRAGMENTS OF HISTORICAL WORKS

A NUMBER of small fragments of works of a historical character, or of historical interest, which were not discussed in the first series of *New Chapters*, may be mentioned together here. Most of them have been conveniently collected by Fr. Bilabel, *Die kleineren Historikerfragmente auf Papyrus* (Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, 1923).

1. *Suppression of the Tyrannies by the Spartans* (Bilabel, 1).

A small fragment containing the upper part of two columns, written about the middle of the second century B. C., and first edited by Hunt in vol. i of the *Rylands Papyri*. Of the first column, nothing can be made; of the second, twelve lines containing about thirty words can be read.

The fragment is characterized by the editor as 'of an interesting, if tantalising nature'. The first four lines relate to the foundation of colonies by some unnamed person, but who this person was and what was the scene of his activities are alike uncertain. Bilabel thinks that the person was Cypselus, or one of the Cypselids, and that the scene of his activities was Epirus. The rest of the fragment describes the part played by the Spartan king Anaxandridas, the father of Cleomenes, and the ephor Chilon in the suppression of the tyrannies. The tyranny of Aeschines at Sicyon and that of Hippias at Athens are mentioned, and then the fragment comes to an end. The statements in question present obvious difficulties. The reign of Anaxandridas extended from somewhere about 560 B. C. to 520, and Chilon's date is assigned by the ancient authorities to the middle of the sixth century. It follows that neither Chilon nor Anaxandridas can have played any part in the expulsion of Hippias, which took place in 510 B. C., in the reign of Cleomenes. The main interest is to be found in the mention of Aeschines of Sicyon as one of

the tyrants expelled by the Spartans. Hitherto the sole authority, alike for Aeschines and for his deposition, is the well-known passage in Plutarch's *De Herodoti Malignitate*, c. 21. Here in our fragment we have an authority for the deposition of Aeschines which is from two to three centuries earlier than Plutarch. The claim of the tyrant of Sicyon to an actual existence can no longer be questioned. That he was one of the Orthagorids, or the immediate successor of Cleisthenes, is impossible. The latter left no male heir, and it is clear from Herodotus that the line of the Orthagorids came to an end at his death. It is also clear from Herodotus that the ascendancy of the non-Dorian population over the Dorians continued after the death of Cleisthenes; Herodotus says for sixty years. A compromise seems to have been ultimately arrived at, the three Dorian tribes being restored, while the non-Dorians were allowed to retain the tribal organization which they had received from Cleisthenes (Hdt. v. 67, 68). It has been very generally held that this restoration of the three Dorian tribes was due to the intervention of Sparta, and Herodotus's sixty years would point to a date towards the end of the sixth century B. C. It may be suggested that Aeschines was a leader of the non-Dorian party who had succeeded in making himself tyrant, either at the end of the reign of Anaxandridas or at the beginning of that of Cleomenes, and that it was his *coup d'état* which led to the action of the Spartans.

2. *Fragment of a historical work relating to the Siege of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorcetes*, 304 B. C. (Bilabel 8).

The fragment is in the Ionic dialect, and the papyrus was written in the second century A. D. It contains forty-nine lines, with approximately twenty-eight letters in each line. It was first edited by Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy, 1918. Zeno of Rhodes, who was a contemporary of Polybius, by whom he is discussed at some length in Book xvi, ch. 14, was suggested by Hiller von Gaertringen as its author. There is little direct evidence, however, in favour of this hypothesis.

The interest of this fragment lies in the light which it throws on the value of Diodorus's work for this period of Greek history. The corresponding narrative is found in Diodorus, xx. 93 and 94. The coincidences between the fragment and the narrative of Diodorus are most remarkable, and they extend to the language as well as the subject-matter. What makes the coincidences the more remarkable is that they relate to incidents of no great importance. Diodorus has to tell of the capture of a vessel on which was found a gorgeous robe intended for Demetrius, and of its being sent by the Rhodians as a present to their ally, Ptolemy the king of Egypt. The opening words of the papyrus relate to this incident. Both in the papyrus and in Diodorus we are told of a certain Amyntas, who was sent out by the Rhodians in command of a squadron, and who succeeded in capturing a number of artificers of siege engines, and eleven καταπελταφέται. In both, again, we have a detailed account of a commander of mercenaries, by name Athenagoras, who had been sent to the aid of the Rhodians by Ptolemy, and of his promise to betray to Demetrius the defence works of the besieged, and then reveal the intrigue to the Rhodians, and in both the name of the emissary sent by Demetrius, Alexander, a Macedonian, is given. In both the terms of the Rhodian decree rewarding the services of Athenagoras are recorded. On the other hand, Diodorus says nothing of the unsuccessful attempt of Demetrius to ransom the artificers, an incident which takes up half-a-dozen lines of the papyrus; while in the papyrus nothing is said about the proposal brought forward in the Rhodian assembly to remove the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius which is narrated by Diodorus. It is evident that the author of the fragment derived his account from the same source as that on which Diodorus drew, and that both writers derived their accounts from this common source directly, and not at second or third hand. That this common source was the work of a writer contemporary with the events hardly admits of doubt. Quite clearly, the value of Diodorus as a historian is not to be gauged by what he has to tell us of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, or of the interval between them. There are

periods in the later history of Greece for which he had excellent authorities of which he was capable of making an intelligent use.

It is a further point of interest in the fragment that it enables us to restore to the text of Diodorus the word καταπελταφέτας, which, although it is the reading of the Florentinus, was emended into καὶ καταπέλτας by Fischer, the editor of the most recent Teubner edition. We are beginning to learn, thanks to the papyri, that a word is not to be treated as corrupt simply because it is unusual or unattested.

3. *Fragment relating to the revolt of the Satrap Artabazus*, 355–354 B. C. (Bilabel 5).

This fragment consists of portions of two columns, column 1 containing nine lines, of which two are incomplete, and column 2 of eight lines, in which hardly a single complete word is preserved. The hand in which it is written indicates the beginning of the second century A. D. The papyrus, which belongs to the collection of the Archduke Rainer, was first edited by C. Wessely in the *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und griechisch-römischen Alterthumskunde* (Festschrift zu O. Hirschfelds 60. Geburtstage, 1903).

In spite of the scantiness of its contents (it is the shortest of all the fragments which are here discussed), this fragment possesses considerable interest, and has given rise to some discussion (cf. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 1^2, pp. 242 ff.). Its authorship is uncertain, but Beloch conjectures that it comes from a commentary on the *First Philippic* of Demosthenes. The interest of this fragment, as of several of the other historical fragments, lies in its relation to the corresponding narrative of Diodorus (xvi. 22. 1, 2 and 34. 1, 2). According to Diodorus, the Athenian general Chares, in the course of the so-called Social War, entered the service of the satrap Artabazus, then in revolt against the Persian king Artaxerxes III, in order to procure pay for his mercenaries. The action of their general had at first the approval of the Athenian Assembly, but when the king sent an embassy of protest, and was reported to be assembling a fleet of 300 vessels for the support of the Allies

who had seceded from the Athenian confederacy, the Athenians took alarm, and made peace with their allies. Diodorus narrates all this under the archonship of Elpines (356 B. C.). Subsequently, under the archonship of Eudemus (353–352 B. C.), he states that after the withdrawal of Chares from Asia Artabazus secured the help of the Theban general Pammenes, who brought with him a force of 5,000 men, and that Pammenes won two decisive victories over the satraps who were in command of the Persian troops. Diodorus clearly implies that Chares was recalled by the Athenians from the service of Artabazus as the result of the Persian embassy, and that a state of war continued between Artabazus and the king's satraps during the interval between the recall of Artabazus and the arrival of Pammenes on the scene. In the papyrus, on the other hand, it is asserted that on the arrival of envoys from Athens, with instructions to Chares to desist from further operations against the Persian satraps, the Athenian general negotiated a peace between Artabazus and Tithraustes, the satrap of Phrygia. It may be argued in favour of the version in the papyrus that the mention of Tithraustes as one of the Persian generals, although not specifically as satrap of Phrygia, finds confirmation elsewhere (Schol. on Demosth. on *Phil.* i), and that the narrative of Diodorus, in which e. g. the mission of the Athenian envoys to Chares finds no mention, is obviously compressed; and it is easy to advance some such hypothesis as that the Persian Court refused to ratify the treaty arranged between Artabazus and Tithraustes, or that the prospect of obtaining help from Thebes led Artabazus to break the peace almost as soon as it had been made. Such reconstructions of the history of these events have not, it must be confessed, much probability in their favour. In any case, *βαιο* in column 2 may refer to the force sent by the Thebans under Pammenes. The fragment throws no light on the precise date, either of the recall of Chares, or of the campaign of Pammenes.

4. *Fragment of a historical work on Alexander the Great* (Bilabel 7).

The portions of this fragment, which are fifty-four in number, are written in a hand of the latter part of the second century A. D. They were first published by Grenfell and Hunt in Part xv of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, no. 1798. Only the longer portions of the papyrus are given in Bilabel. Of the great majority of the portions of it nothing can be made. Fr. 44 is much the longest and most important; of the other fragments, 1, 2, and 45 alone have any interest. Fr. 1 relates to the assassination of Philip; fr. 2 contains the remains of a quotation in hexameters referring to Thebes, probably in connexion with Alexander's destruction of the city; fr. 45 relates to the crossing of the Euphrates by Alexander. Fr. 44, which consists of about seventy lines of an average length of sixteen letters, starts with the well-known story of Parmenio's letter warning Alexander against his physician Philip, and this occupies about sixteen lines. In the rest of this fragment we have an account of the Battle of Issus.

It is impossible to determine the authorship or date of this work. It exhibits both agreements with, and differences from, our other authorities, but the writer with whom the agreements are most significant is Quintus Curtius. Between him and the papyrus there are at least two striking coincidences; the first in regard to the terms alleged in Parmenio's letter to have been offered by Darius to the physician Philip, and the second in regard to Alexander's sudden alarm before the Battle of Issus. These coincidences point to one of two conclusions: either Curtius made use of the work from which these fragments come, or he and our anonymous author drew from a common source. If we may judge from our author's account of the Battle of Issus and of the passage of the Euphrates, both of which are narrated much more concisely than by Arrian, the work as a whole must have been on a less elaborate scale than the latter writer's *Anabasis*. Among the novelties furnished by the papyrus are the motive ascribed to Parmenio for his warning letter, the sacrifice to Thetis, the Nereids, and

Poseidon, before the Battle of Issus, the losses of Macedonians and Persians respectively in the battle (the Macedonian loss being put at 1,000 foot, while our other authorities give only 300, and the Persian loss in infantry being reduced to 50,000, as against the 100,000, or more, of the other writers), and an anecdote to the effect that on the day after the Battle of Issus, when one of the Guards brought him a piece of bread taken from a herdsman, Alexander devoured it, with the remark 'Every one, you see, likes to live' (*Πάντες ἄρα ἄνθρωποι ζῶσιν ἡδέως*).

5. *Fragment of an Epitome of Book XLVII of the* Philippica *of Theopompus* (Bilabel 6).

This is a small fragment containing portions of two columns, written in the second century A.D. About forty words can be read or restored. It was first printed in Grenfell and Hunt's edition of the *Fragments* of Theopompus, and subsequently edited by Hunt in vol. i of the *Rylands Papyri*, no. 19.

The interest of the fragment is two-fold. In the first place, it gives us a clearer idea than we had before of the scope of Book xlvii of the *Philippica*, which must have contained the events of the year 340 B.C. The papyrus speaks of the outbreak of the war between Athens and Philip and of the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium, as well as of the operations of his generals Antipater and Parmenio in the north-west of Thrace. In the second place, it proves that this book of the *Philippica* was the source from which Polyaenus (*Strat.* iv, 4, 1) derived his account of a stratagem of Antipater's when engaged with a Thracian tribe called Tetrachoritae.

6. *A list of Persian kings, with the length of their reigns* (Bilabel 11).

This fragment, written in a hand of the fifth century A.D., was discovered at Qarâra in 1914 by Bilabel, by whom it was published with a brief commentary in the *Historikerfragmente*. A full discussion of the problems connected with it will be found in Part iii of the Baden Collection of papyri.

The list begins with the usurpation of the Magi, and ends at Darius Nothus. Bilabel maintains that it is a fragment of an epitome of Manetho, earlier than those used by Africanus

and Eusebius, and possibly than that used by Josephus. Its interest lies in its relation to the list found in these other writers. Its historical importance is of the slightest.

7. *Fragment in the Berlin Collection relating to the alliance of Athens with Sparta in 369 B.C.* (Bilabel 14).

This fragment, which was first published by Bilabel in the *Historikerfragmente*, is written in a hand of the early half of the second century A. D., and consists of parts of two columns, with sixteen lines in one column and fourteen in the other, the number of letters in a line varying from twenty-one to twenty-eight.

The use of the first person suggests that the fragment is part of a speech in one of the Orators, or else that it forms part of a speech in a historical work. The point on which the speaker insists is that the policy of the Greek states is commonly determined by motives of self-interest, and he illustrates this by the action of Athens in 369 B.C. in sending a force to the help of the Spartans through fear that the victory of Leuctra might render the power of Thebes dangerous to her own interests. His view of the motives for the policy of the Greek states—*γεγόνασι κατὰ καιρόν τινες βοήθειαι καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἴσως καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς διὰ τὰς οἰκείας ἑκάστων χρείας ἀεὶ τὸ ἰδίᾳ συμφέρον θεραπευόντων*—may be compared with two passages in Demosthenes. The first is in the speech *Pro Megalopolitanis* 4 *οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἀπείποι ὡς οὐ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀσθενεῖς εἶναι καὶ Θηβαίους τουτουσί.* The second is in the speech *In Aristocratem* 102 *ἴσθ' ὅτι συμφέρει τῇ πόλει μήτε Θηβαίους μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἰσχύειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν Φωκέας ἀντιπάλους, τοῖς δ' ἄλλους τινὰς εἶναι· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει μεγίστοις οὖσιν ἀσφαλῶς οἰκεῖν.*

8. *A fragment of an unidentified speech.*

This fragment, edited by Hunt in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part xv (no. 1799), contains the remains of two columns, of the first of which only a few letters remain, but the second includes a continuous passage of twenty-five nearly complete

lines, of an average length of twenty letters. The hand is probably of the second century A. D.

The object of the orator appears to be the vindication of the policy of Demosthenes. His assertion that the growth of Philip's power and the humiliation of Athens would have been prevented by the acceptance of that policy, indicates that the speech must belong to a period subsequent to the Battle of Chaeronea. The occasion of the speech, however, cannot be determined.

9. *Fragment recounting the services of the orator Demosthenes.*

This fragment, which is written in a hand of the latter half of the second century A. D., consists of some ten portions, many of which are too small, or too much broken, to be read or restored with certainty. The longest portion contains about fourteen lines, which can be read with an average of eleven letters in a line. The fragment was first published with a commentary by Professor W. E. Blake, of the University of Michigan (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. lvii, 1926).

It is impossible to determine either the character of the work from which this fragment comes, or its authorship. The little that can be read suggests that the work was one which dealt with the career of the orator, and that its object was to insist on the services which he had rendered to Athens. It may, therefore, be compared with the preceding fragment (no. 8). The historical interest of the fragment is to be found in its reference to the famous decree passed by the Assembly in the year 339 B. C.: *τὰ δὲ χρήματ' ἐψηφίσαντο πάντ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά, Δημοσθένους γράψαντος* (Philochorus 135 M).

10. *? Phlegon of Tralles*, Chronica.

The papyrus consists of eleven fragments, some of which are too imperfect to be either restored or read. There are, however, some seventy lines, with from twenty-two to twenty-five letters in a line, which are more or less complete. The hand in which it is written belongs to the latter half of the second

century A. D. The fragment was first published and edited by Hunt in Part xvii of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, no. 2082.

Three questions arise in connexion with this fragment: that of its authorship, that of its relation to another fragment (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ii, no. 222), and that of its value as an authority for the history of the earlier years of the third century B. C., and in particular for the tyranny of Lachares at Athens. The second of these questions is closely connected with the first.

The work from which this fragment comes was arranged on a chronological plan according to numbered Olympiads, subdivided into years, the names of the victors in the various Olympic contests being given in full. The Olympiad which is given in the fragment is the 121st, 296 B. C. The work was also comprehensive in character, dealing with Rome and Sicily as well as Greece and Macedonia, and the style, apart from the treatment of the tyranny of Lachares, suggests a historical compendium rather than a detailed narrative. The strongest argument in favour of attributing the fragment to Phlegon of Tralles, a freedman of the Emperor Hadrian, who wrote a work in sixteen books, extending from the first Olympiad to the 229th (in which Hadrian died), which is referred to by Eusebius, Origen, Stephanus of Byzantium, and Photius, sometimes under the name of *Olympiades*, and sometimes as *Chronica*, is the remarkable similarity between the fragment and a quotation in Photius from Phlegon's narrative of the events of the 177th Olympiad (70 B. C.). This quotation begins with a list of Olympic victors exactly like that in our fragment, and this is followed by a notice of events, subdivided according to the year of the Olympiad. Although the style in the passage in Photius is balder and more concise than that of the fragment, the words employed give reason for thinking that he was summarizing rather than giving a verbal citation; and there is another passage in Photius, in which he gives a direct quotation from Book xiii of the *Chronica*, the style of which is much less compressed. The strongest argument against the attribution of the fragment to Phlegon is that based on the scale of the work. It may be argued with some

plausibility that an event of so little importance as the tyranny of Lachares can hardly have been treated so fully in a mere compendium, which covered 916 years in sixteen books. There is, however, some evidence that the scale of Phlegon's work increased as more recent history was reached, just as there is evidence that the scale of Ephorus' work increased as he reached the century in which he lived and wrote. Those who find the question of scale an insuperable barrier to the identification of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* with the work of Ephorus will doubtless find the question of scale fatal to the claims of Phlegon. On the other hand, the argument in the case of Phlegon will seem less formidable to those who have refused to regard it as conclusive in the case of Ephorus.

In papyrus 222 we have a list of Olympic victors in the various events precisely corresponding to those in the present fragment and in Photius' quotation from Phlegon. It was argued by C. Robert (*Hermes*, liii. 141 sqq.) that fragment 222 came from Phlegon's *Ἐπιτομὴ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν*, chiefly on the ground of the close correspondence between the list in that fragment and the list in Photius. Robert's argument is obviously reinforced by the discovery of the new fragment.[1]

Much the fullest narrative that survives in the papyrus is that which is concerned with the tyranny of Lachares. It adds not a little that is interesting to our knowledge of this obscure period of Athenian history, and it disposes, once and for all, of a chronology of this episode, based upon an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. 299), which brought down the date of the tyranny to the spring of 295 B. C., and which had won general acceptance with recent writers. Our fragment proves that Lachares was established as tyrant before the summer of 296 B. C., and it thus lends some support to the statement of Pausanias (i. 25. 7) that it was Cassander who prompted Lachares to make himself tyrant. E. M. W.

[1] F. Jacoby, we understand, is printing these fragments among those of Phlegon in a forthcoming volume of the *Frag. Gr. Hist.* On the other hand their attribution to Phlegon does not commend itself to G. De Sanctis who (in *R. d. Filologia*, 1928, 53 sqq.) would prefer Eratosthenes, reviving the now commonly discarded view that his Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι included a historical chronicle.

TIMACHIDAS

The Chronicle of the temple of Athena at Lindus in Rhodes.

One of the most interesting results of the Danish excavations in Rhodes, financed by the Carlsberg Fund and ably conducted by Dr. C. Blinkenberg and Dr. K. F. Kinch, was a discovery of the year 1904. Clearing the ground near the modern church of St. Stephen close to the ancient theatre of Lindus, and immediately below the Acropolis where the temple stood, they came upon the incomplete floor of an earlier Byzantine church, and found this largely composed of inscribed slabs with the writing upwards. Three of them contained a list of the priests of Athena Lindia from 170 to 47 B.C., one was a fragmentary older list of the same kind, and the fifth was the 'Chronicle' of the temple, as the finders styled it, but as we should rather say, a historical inventory of the temple treasures, introduced by the phrase *τοίδε ἀνέθηκαν τᾷ Ἀθάνᾳ*, the first donor being the eponymous hero Lindus, and the last whose name is preserved, though many names are lost, being Philip V of Macedon (*c.* 200 B.C.).

Unfortunately this *Stele* has suffered much from various causes. The local marble used is full of veins and irregular in texture; it has had two uprights fixed in it, and the lower part is completely worn away by the feet of the worshippers. The greatest credit is due to Dr. Blinkenberg for deciphering as much of the inscription as was humanly possible, and it is not likely that any epigraphist will be able to add much to his results. He has published the inscription first in French, *La chronique du temple Lindien* (Copenhagen, 1912), and more conveniently in *Kleine Texte*, no. 131 (Bonn, 1915). The importance of the text for history, archaeology, and literature has induced many scholars to write upon it, among whom we may mention Wilamowitz (*Arch. Anzeiger*, 1913, pp. 42–6), Keil (*Hermes*, li. 491), and Rostovtseff (*Klio*, xvi. 203).

A. *The authorship.*

The date of the *Stele* is fixed by the mention of the priest Teisulus at 99 B.C., and the circumstances seem quite clear.

A certain young Rhodian of archaeological tastes, Timāchidas,[1] had already devoted much time to the study of the literary authorities, which are so largely quoted, but he had not had access to the 'letters and official minutes'. Accordingly his father, Hagesitimus, proposed and carried a decree in the local assembly, appointing him and a colleague, whose duties were obviously only nominal, to draw up an inscription, and to have access to the archives in the presence of the secretary of the local senate (*μαστροί*), to receive a sum of 200 drachmae according to the estimate of the architect, and to complete the work under penalty of a fine within the next following month. This shows that Timachidas had completed most of his researches already, and only needed to consult the official records. The 'letters' are attributed in the *Stele* to Gorgosthenes who wrote to the senate of the capital city of Rhodes (a copy presumably being sent to Lindus), and to Hierobulus who wrote to the local senate of Lindus. Dr. Blinkenberg has conclusively proved that the destructive fire in the temple of Athena, mentioned in the inscription, took place about 350 B.C. and that these two priests recorded the lost 'anathemata'; they doubtless gave the rein to their fancy in so doing. This fire would explain the liberality of Artaxerxes Ochus—no doubt inspired by his general, Mentor the Rhodian—who presented valuable jewellery to the state of Rhodes. The state presented the articles to the temple, and these were converted by the Lindians into a gold statuette of Nike, which the restored temple statue would bear upon its hand like Athena Parthenos. Out of these letters and the official minutes Timachidas no doubt found it easy to complete his work. Now he has been identified by Blinkenberg with great probability as the Rhodian of that name, whose work *Δεῖπνα* is cited by Athenaeus. It was in eleven books of hexameter verse, and apparently dealt *inter alia* with fish, fruit, and

[1] Timāchidas is a name which occurs in inscriptions of Rhodes and Cos in the third century B.C. It is a local form of Τιμαοχίδας (Bechtel). Radermacher (*Phil.* lxxv. 473) quoting various doublets (to which he might have added the father of Theocritus, Simichidas in the *Vita*, Simichus in Suidas) regards the name as identical with Timachus: but Blinkenberg holds that Τίμαχος is a short form of Τιμαχάρης.

flowers as accessories to banquets. He is probably the same person who wrote a work on *Γλῶσσαι* (rare words), and produced commentaries on the *Medea*, *Frogs*, *Κόλαξ* of Menander, and *Hermes* of Eratosthenes. He was accordingly a literary man of some distinction in the first century B.C., and it is attractive to suppose that his work on the temple inventory was his *primitiae*.[1] In the decree and the inventory there is, of course, no room for literary style, but appended to the decree are one complete and two fragmentary *Ἐπιφάνειαι* of the goddess. The two latter are respectively about appearances of Athena in a dream, one to a priest about a suicide in the temple, when the Lindians were minded to consult the Delphic oracle, the other to an ex-priest during the siege of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorcetes, commanding an appeal for help to Ptolemy Soter (305 B.C.), as a souvenir of which Ptolemy made a great sacrifice, and dedicated twenty pairs of horns of the oxen. But the former, which is complete, is of sufficient interest to translate (D. 1–47): 'When Darius the Persian king had sent out a mighty armament with the object of enslaving Hellas, this island was the first at which his fleet arrived. The people of the country were full of consternation at the advent of the Persians, and took refuge in all the strongholds of the island; but the largest numbers collected at Lindus; so the barbarians sat down and besieged them, until the Lindians, being hampered for want of water, were minded to surrender the city to the enemy. It was just then that the goddess stood over one of the magistrates in a dream, and bade him be of good cheer, for she would herself intercede with her father for the water of which there was so pressing a need; he, after seeing the vision, announced to the citizens the ordinance of Athena. On examination they found they had a supply for only five days, and accordingly asked for an armistice from the barbarians for no more than this space of time, saying that Athena had sent to her father for succour, and that, if it did not arrive within the prescribed time, they would surrender the city. Datis, the admiral of Darius, at the moment

[1] It is possible but less probable that the literary Timachidas was the grandfather of the one mentioned in the Chronicle. See also pp. 85, 86.

he heard this message, burst into laughter, but the next day, when great darkness gathered over the Acropolis, copious rain broke over its middle point, and in so strange a way the besieged obtained plenty of water, while the Persian army was in straits for it. The barbarian was dismayed at this apparition of the goddess; and, stripping off his body-ornaments, sent into the town, for dedication in the temple, his robe, collar, and armlets, moreover his tiara and scimitar, and in addition his covered carriage, which was preserved there until, when the temple caught fire in the year when Eucles the son of Astyanactidas was priest of Helios, it was burnt with the greater part of the offerings.[1] But before Datis himself broke up his camp and departed to the task appointed him, he made a covenant of friendship with the besieged, and moreover declared that these men were under the protection of the gods.'[2] (Then follow citations of the narrative from nine authors.) There is a certain literary style in this narrative, which places the writer alongside of Ephorus, if not Xenophon, or at any rate classes him with Polemon, that is, a style which retains the Attic tradition and has not descended to the *Κοινή*, as with Apollonius in the *Ἐπιφάνεια* of Sarapis.[3]

B. *The authorities cited.*

Beside the writers of the letters, twenty-one authorities are stated, most of them completely unknown chroniclers. Two, Hegesias and Myron, are authors of panegyrics upon Rhodes: the former of these wrote also an *Ἀττικῆς ἐγκώμιον*, of which Strabo (p. 396) gives a fragment: 'I see the Acropolis and there the mark of the wonderful trident; I see Eleusis and I have become initiated in the rites. There is the Leocorium, here the

[1] These are plainly the offerings mentioned in XXXII of the inventory. Dr. Blinkenberg there by a restoration makes the donor Artaphernes. But as seven authorities out of the nine given in the narrative of the *Ἐπιφάνεια* are also quoted there, it seems quite certain that the offerings must have been credited to Datis.

[2] An inscription from the Tauric Chersonese (Collitz and Bechtel, iii. 1. 3086; cf. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, p. 297) mentions a decree of honour for a local historian, Syriscus, who described an *Ἐπιφάνεια* of Athena, goddess of the city, in the third or second century B. C.

[3] Given in *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 68.

Theseum. I cannot describe each in detail; for Attica belongs to the gods who took the land for themselves and to the ancestors worshipped as heroes.' Zeno the Rhodian who wrote a local history in fifteen books (Diogenes Laertius, vii. 35) is no doubt the correspondent of Polybius and the author quoted in the *Stele*. Eudemus, the author of a *Λινδιακὸς* (*λόγος*), is perhaps Aristotle's pupil the Peripatetic philosopher. But there is no doubt of the identity of Herodotus the Thurian whose mention of Amasis' linen corslet at Lindus is quoted from ii. 182, the word *ἀρπεδόνη* being used as in iii. 47; but whereas Herodotus says that each *ἀρπεδόνη* has 360 *ἀρπεδόναι* in itself, the inscription says *στάμονες*. Dr. Blinkenberg thinks that, because Timachidas does not mention the two stone statues mentioned in Herodotus as the present of Amasis to the Athena of Lindus, he had only read the information of Herodotus as given by Polyzalus. With these exceptions the authorities cited seem to be writers of local history, and completely unknown. There is one curiosity. One *Αἰέλουρος* wrote on the 'war against the Exagiadae', or should we accept Wilamowitz's attractive suggestion 'the six sons of Helios'? *Αἰέλουρος* may have been a pseudonym for a romance writer. Anyhow, one Theotimus was inspired to write a polemic treatise against 'Mr. Cat!'[1] According to a scholiast on Pindar, *Ol.* vii (which ode is said to have been preserved in letters of gold in the temple of Athena at Lindus), Theotimus wrote *Περὶ Κυρήνης*.

C. *The legendary and archaic offerings.*

These begin with a cup dedicated by Lindus, and an urn or pitcher by the Telchines to Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus; as this was the great cult of the city of Rhodes, this fiction is later than 407 B.C. when the city was founded. Cadmus follows with a bronze cauldron 'inscribed with Phoenician letters'; Minos with a silver cup, and Heracles with two wicker shields, one covered with leather taken from Eurypylus

[1] This is the only instance of this word as a proper name. For a list of names derived from animals see Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 580 sq. The commonest are Λέων, Λύκος, Μόσχος, Μῦς, Σκύλαξ.

of Cos, and one covered with bronze taken from Laomedon. Then follow souvenirs of the Trojan war. Tlapolemus, the leader of the Rhodian contingent, dedicates a cup; his followers weapons; Rhesus (?) a gold cup; Telephus, a cup with a gold boss; Menelaus, the helmet of Paris; Helen, a pair of bracelets; Canopus, the pilot of Menelaus, a rudder; Meriones, a silver quiver; and Teucer, Pandarus' quiver. This series of fictions is easily paralleled from Pausanias (who sometimes, e.g. viij. 7, expresses his dissent), but it is interesting to have a complete list of priestly inventions for one temple. The archaic period is introduced with the dedication by each tribe of a 'very archaic painting' representing the tribal leader and nine 'runners';[1] the tribal names given, Heliadae, Autochthones, Telchines, are fictitious. The next dedication may genuinely represent some early sea-fight with the Cretans. The next gives us a new piece of information, that Lindians 'under the sons of Pancis' took part in the colonization of Cyrene under Battus Eudaemon (Hdt. iv. 159) and dedicated a wooden group of Athena with Heracles strangling a lion. We next hear of the tyrant Cleobulus making an expedition to Lycia, of Lacius the Oecist of Phaselis (obviously a Rhodian) fighting the Solymi, and of the colony Gela fighting against a Sicilian prince Ariaetus; of a bowl sent by Phalaris of Acragas, and of a votive offering from Dinomenes the father of the Sicilian despots, who is confused with a Dinomenes from Telos, co-founder of Gela along with Antiphamus the Lindian. Next come the votive offerings of Amasis (already mentioned), of the Agrigentines, and of Pollis (?), uncle of a tyrant of Syracuse in the sixth century.

Dedications also are attributed to Soli in Cilicia, a Lindian foundation, and to the Lindians as the result of an expedition to Crete, at what period does not appear. In the midst of these public dedications comes apparently a private thank-offering from one Amphinomus and his sons, who offered a wooden cow and calf after a safe voyage from Sybaris, and expressed their gratitude in an elegiac couplet.

[1] Probably the Ephebi who entered for the contests in the Gymnasia; as in Crete, where the term δρόμοι (= δρομῆς) was used in that connexion.

D. *The historical offerings.*

With the exception of the offerings attributed to Datis (or Artaphernes), and perhaps the Palladion of the Agrigentines, the fifth century is a blank. There seems to be no better explanation of this than that the cult of Athena Lindia was entirely overshadowed by the greatness of Athens and Athena Parthenos. If Datis made offerings at Delos (Herod. vi. 97), why should he not have done so at Lindus? The dedications subsequent to the temple fire begin with the presents of Artaxerxes Ochus, already mentioned. Next there is an allusion to the resort of the Rhodians to an oracle when hard pressed in a war (otherwise unknown) with Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the command of this oracle to dedicate a shield to Athena. The *βουκέφαλα* dedicated by Alexander the Great were presumably put up after Arbela, those of Ptolemy in 304. Pyrrhus was commanded by the oracle of Dodona to make an offering to Athena Lindia, and sent *βουκέφαλα* and the arms, 'which he himself used in his dangers'. This looks like a reference to his Italian campaign. Hiero II of Syracuse also sent a present of his own armour, perhaps when after an earthquake he sent gifts to Rhodes. The last name preserved is that of Philip V of Macedon, who dedicated perhaps Aetolian spoils. The additions to our historical knowledge derived from this *stele* are perhaps not very important, but they are clear and unmistakable.

The items add considerably to our information about ancient *anathemata*; the material is sometimes of African lotus or cypress wood; the references to the archaic panel-paintings, to the subjects represented ('Cronos receiving his children from Rhea and swallowing them' has not previously been found so early), to the technique (e.g. a wooden figure with head, hands, and feet of ivory) are highly interesting. Altogether, we owe a debt both to Timachidas, and still more to Dr. Blinkenberg, who has made him a living figure.

G. C. R.

For the Bibliography see p. 76.

ADDENDUM

Catalogue of a Library at Rhodes

It is pertinent in this connexion to mention a fragmentary but interesting inscription[1] which has lately come to light in Rhodes, and which is not later than 100 B. C. It contains the names of works, some of which were hitherto unknown, written by authors of the fourth and third centuries. The second and following entries: *Κλέων*, *ἕ*[*ν*], *Φαινώνδας ἢ περὶ ὀ*[*λιγαρχίας*? De Sanctis], *Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι νομοθεσίας*, *πέ*[*ντε*][2], *περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι πολ*[*ιτῶν*, *δύο*][3], and those which follow, show that the author of the works was the accomplished orator Demetrius of Phalerum, who had been educated with Menander in the school of Theophrastus, but with whom the decline of Greek eloquence began. The name *Ἀρίσταιχμος* appears as the first title in the list and is probably the correct form of the name which Diogenes Laertius gives as *Ἀριστόμαχος*.[4]

The second author is Hegesias, with three entries, *οἱ Φιλαθήναιοι*, *Ἀσπασία*, *ἕν*, *Ἀλκιβιάδης*, *ἕν*. Hegesias flourished in the middle of the third century B. C., and the works mentioned have been hitherto unknown. A *Ῥόδου Ἐγκώμιον* by him, also hitherto unknown, is mentioned in the *Lindian Chronicle* of Timachidas.[5] Hegesias wrote in a mincing style; *saltat incidens particulas*; 'he is jerky, and chops his style into little fragments', says Cicero (*Orator*, § 226), who parodies him in *Epp. ad Attic.* xii. 61.

The third is Theodectes, the rhetorician and tragedian, a pupil of Isocrates: *Θεοδέκτου τέχνης τέσσα*[*ρα*], *Ἀμφικτυονικὸς ἕν*, are the entries. The difficulty in *τέσσαρα* applied to

[1] *Nuova Silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, by Amedeo Maiuri (Florence, 1925), no. 11. See a valuable article in *Rivista di Filologia*, 1926, p. 63, by G. De Sanctis.

[2] De Sanctis gives *πέντε* from Diog. Laert. v. 80.

[3] *πολιτευμάτων* Maiuri; *πολιτῶν δύο* De Sanctis from the vulgate in Diog. Laert. v. 80, where, however, Cobet made the correction *πολιτειῶν*, which Hicks accepts. The same doubt arises in Thuc. vi. 17. 2.

[4] Diog. Laert. v. 81.

[5] *Die Lindische Tempelchronik*, Blinkenberg, B. 32 and 64 (Lietzmann's Kleine Texte).

his *Τέχνη*, a treatise of which the existence is well known, is considered below.

The *Ἀμφικτυονικός* is a new title; but, as De Sanctis observes, it is appropriate to an Epideictic oration composed by a pupil of Isocrates. In the same way another of Isocrates' pupils whose name follows, Theopompus, is credited here with a *Παναθηναϊκός*. His is the fourth name, and the letters are correctly restored by De Sanctis as *Θ[εοπόμπ]ου*. Maiuri gave *Θ[εοδέκτ]ου*, but the next name of an author in the inscription, *Θεοπόμπου ἄλλου*, shows that here *Θ[εοπόμπ]ου* is required.

The titles of his works are restored as

Λακωνικός, ἕν, [*Κορινθ*]*[ια]κός*, ἕν,
Μαύσσω]*λος*,[1] ἕν, [*Ὀλυμ*]*πικός*, ἕν, [*Φίλιπ*]*πος*,[2] ἕν,
[*Ἀλεξάνδ*]*(ρ)ου*[3] *ἐγκώμιον*, ἕν, . . . *πρὸς Εὐαγόραν*, ἕν,
Ἐπιστολ[*ὴ*] *πρὸς Φίλιππον*,[4] ἕν, *Συμβουλευτικὸς*
πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, [ἕν], *Παναθηναϊκός*, [ἕν],
Καταδρομὴ τῆ[*ς Πλάτωνος*][5] *διατριβῆ*[*ς*].

Five of these titles are new:

Λακωνικός, *Κορινθιακός*, *Ὀλυμπικός*, *πρὸς Εὐαγόραν*, *Παναθηναϊκός*.

These compositions are epideictic, and hence Theopompus was following his master Isocrates, who composed the Epideictic *Παναθηναϊκός*, while the title *Πρὸς Εὐαγόραν* recalls Isocrates' 'Euagoras', which might be called either a *Πανηγυρικός*, or, as the Scholiast describes it, a truncated *Ἐπιτάφιος*.

The fifth name is *Θεοπόμπου ἄλλου· περὶ βασιλείας*. This Theopompus is unknown, and the reading of the second column is not certain. This list appears to be part of the catalogue (*Πίναξ*) of a library at Rhodes, probably that of the celebrated university which flourished during the second and first centuries B. C., and which was largely resorted to by young Romans in the first century B. C. It is arranged alphabetically, *ΔΗΘ*, and clearly forms part of a subject-catalogue; not of a catalogue of authors with their works, because, as

[1] *Μαύσσωλος* De Sanctis. [2] *Φίλιππος* id.
[3] *Ἀλεξάνδρου* id. After *ἐγκώμιον*, *ἕν* are traces of two lines.
[4] *Φίλιππον* id. [5] *Πλάτωνος* id.

De Sanctis points out, the numerous authors whose names begin with E, Z, and H, like Ephorus, Epicurus, Euripides, Zeno, Heraclitus, Herodotus, Hesiod, do not occur in the list in their appropriate place, and the purely historical writings of Theopompus are not mentioned.

The works are essays on Politics, as we might call them, by professional rhetoricians, with the addition of Theodectes' treatise on the art of Rhetoric.

The numbers *ἕν*, *τέσσαρα*, *πέντε* require some explanation. They do not mean the number of 'books' that composed a work, or the number of copies of the work that were in the library, but, as Mr. Lobel has pointed out to me, the number of rolls that contained a work. The entries are given from the view of a librarian, not of an editor or a historian of literature. The numbers mean 'one roll, four rolls, five rolls'. The number 'four' applied to Theodectes' *Τέχνη*, which has caused difficulty to De Sanctis and Rostagni, because Hesychius says that it consisted of three books, is to be interpreted in this way. The three 'Books' of his *Τέχνη* were contained in four rolls. Since the treatise of Demetrius Phalereus here recorded as *Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι νομοθεσίας πε*[comprised five books, as we know from Diogenes Laertius v. 80, De Sanctis' *πέντε* may well be right, and then this library would have contained five rolls, each plainly containing one book of it.

Δύο, which is added by Maiuri to the notice of another of Demetrius' works, *Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι πολι*[*τῶν δύο*][1], is on the analogy of *πέντε*, and is probably right: each of the two 'books' which composed it was contained in one roll.

Another inscription, No. 4 in Maiuri's collection, contains coincidences with the two subjects treated of in this chapter. It appears to consist of a resolution of the people that certain documents are to be registered in a library, *βυβλιοθήκα*, followed by a statement that this was done. The name Timachidas occurs in the second part, but the context is too fragmentary to render a reconstruction possible.

The two inscriptions come from the same place, but from the marked difference in the lettering Maiuri assigns them to

[1] See p. 83, n. 3.

widely different dates, the catalogue to the second or first century B. C., and the resolution to the second century A.D. The word *Ἀσιαρχῶν* in the resolution also points to the Imperial era. We have then evidence not only for the long-continued existence of a library at Rhodes, but also perhaps for that of the family of our Timachidas.

It is not inappropriate to find a catalogue of philosophic works in Rhodes which had long been associated with philosophers. Two pupils of Aristotle, Hieronymus and Eudemus, and Panaetius were natives of Rhodes, and Posidonius was the head of the Stoa there about the time of our inscription. The history of philosophy also was written in Rhodes, for Sosicrates in the second century B. C. wrote a work with the title *Φιλοσόφων Διαδοχαί*, 'The Successions of Philosophers', and it is likely that the Rhodian Antisthenes, who flourished about 200 B. C., and wrote the history of his own times, was also the author of a work with the same title to which Diogenes Laertius often refers. Andronicus also, the Aristotelian scholar, who was the head of the Peripatetic school at Rome about 58 B. C., was a native of the island.

This philosophic tradition in Rhodes may explain some part of a remarkable piece of sculpture which was lately found there, and which is assigned to a date about the middle of the second century B. C.[1]

The inscription at the head shows that it stood over the tomb of one Hieronymus, the son of Simylinus: *Ἱερωνύμου τοῦ Σιμυλίνου Τλωίου*, of Tlos in the neighbouring Lycia. Underneath is the name of the artist, Damatrius: *Δαμάτριος ἐποίησε*.

Three scenes appear in it: two appear to be concerned with the underworld, the central, which is a judicial scene, and that on the right hand, which is, perhaps, a scene of initiation; but the significance of these two scenes is not certain, and does not concern us here.

But the left scene shows four figures (perhaps there were

[1] *Hermes*, xxxvii. 121 seq., by Hiller von Gaertringen and C. Robert, with an illustration. But a much better illustration is in Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler d. griech. u. röm. Sculptur*, no. 579.

originally five). One represents a man (bearded, according to von Hiller and Robert) seated, and holding on his lap between his hands an open roll, which he appears to be expounding, for his gaze is fixed upon two listeners, who are looking attentively at him. One is standing and resting his hand on a seat, the other is seated and bending forward eagerly. A third figure behind has placed his hand on the shoulder of the listener who is standing. All the figures are animated and intent on the matter in hand.

There can be no doubt that the scene represents a teacher with his audience. It is not a school, for the figures are those of men, not of boys; and when we remember that Hieronymus was the first name in our list of Rhodian philosophers, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it is the scene of a philosophical lecture, and that the seated figure is the Hieronymus whose name appears in the inscription, and that he was of the family of his earlier namesake. von Hiller places the date of his death about 150 B. C.

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J. U. P.

II

ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ, ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ, ΜΕΛΕΤΗ

CONTENTS

§ 1. The forms, Διάλογος, Διατριβή (Popular Philosophy), Μελέτη (Rhetorical Exercise).

§ 2. The fragments of Διατριβαί arranged chronologically; *Florilegia Sententiarum*; Biography.

§ 3. The fragments of Διάλογοι.

§ 4. Treatises on Rhetoric; the fragments of Μελέται; speeches delivered; Encomia.

§ 1

THE remains of Hellenistic prose are in any case scanty; and the more important additions from papyri have already been dealt with under their appropriate headings, history, biography, philosophy, or oratory. There are, however, numerous lesser compositions, which are not so easily classified, or are the work of more obscure writers. Amongst these are some which add to our knowledge of authors who had previously been little more than names; witness the case of Alcidamas;[1] of Anaximenes of Lampsacus the rhetorician, contemporary with Alexander the Great;[2] of Antiphon the Sophist;[3] and of Aeschines Socraticus.[4]

These slighter forms of literature, notably the Dialogue and the so-called Diatribe, seem to have kept their popularity until well on into the Alexandrian epoch. They were, in fact, among the commoner vehicles of the popular 'literature of instruction', in which the waning light of philosophy continued for a while to find expression; history and biography, which were in like case, found them equally acceptable.

The Dialogue and the Diatribe appear in essence to be one; that is, they both attempt to give some matter of information, or to inculcate some definite lesson, by casting it in the form

[1] below, p. 118.
[2] below, p. 115; 119, n. 4.
[3] below, p. 95.
[4] below, p. 103.

of a viva-voce discussion. We make our first acquaintance with the Dialogue when it is at its highest point of perfection, in the hands of Plato; what we meet after this must inevitably give a certain impression of degeneration. But the Greek mind clung to this form, and continued to use it; and it was not always to the earlier examples that foreign imitators turned in later times.[1] The papyri at present provide us with but little means for bridging the gap, or of tracing the evolution (or decay) of the type over this period; in the second century B.C., in fact, we seem to come upon something of a 'dark age'. But it is clear that the composition of Dialogues of a sort continued till well on in the third century, whilst the revival of interest in them is attested by the fairly numerous examples which date (in point of writing) from the second century A.D. onwards.

The Dialogue appears to have been most successfully employed in the fourth and third centuries B.C. by writers of the Peripatetic school, and to have been derived chiefly, as regards its form, from Aristotle himself. A good example of their work is to be seen in Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*[2]; indeed, it is not easy to find anything of similar extent or interest to set beside it. The Stoics, too, seem, from notices of their works, to have shown considerable activity in similar kinds of composition; owing to the difficulty of ascribing short, and necessarily anonymous, fragments to definite authors, it is not easy to balance the claims of these schools. Most of the early examples, however, seem to accord more readily with what is known of the literary tendencies of the Peripatetics.

The Diatribe, if it is to be allowed a separate existence, may be called a Dialogue which has more or less completely renounced literary form. The author has concentrated on his matter, and on its lively, rather than artistic, presentation. Considered from this point of view, the Diatribe presents not a slight resemblance to the Mime; 'Mime and Diatribe', it has in fact been said,[3] 'are the Hellenistic forms of the art

[1] Cicero, for instance (see below, p. 106, n. 1), mentions that in his *De Republica* he had followed the practice of Heraclides Ponticus.
[2] *Oxyrh. Pap.*, no. 1176.
[3] W. Aly, *Sitz. d. Heid. Akad. d. Wiss.* v, p. 25 f.

(of the Dialogue) in everyday dress'. Those who see in it a specialized form of literature are fairly well agreed as to its characteristics. To quote Lejay,[1] it is 'the pedantic successor of the Dialogue . . . a lecture taking the place of free conversation with the master . . . a discussion in the form of a monologue. The tone is still that of the Dialogue; it is simple and familiar; the orator disguises the subtleties of his rhetoric under the mask of everyday speech. It may contain illustrations drawn from poetry, or from daily life; or miniature scenes cast in dramatic form, in which the philosopher sets his characters against one another. It may contain proverbs, quotations . . . anecdotes . . . pictures with a moral. . . . The Diatribe keeps the form of the spoken word which belongs to it by its origin. Sometimes the philosopher addresses an audience; sometimes he pursues a mute personage with his dialectic, or at times gives him an opportunity to speak for himself.' Wendland,[2] giving a somewhat similar account of its general characteristics, defines its content as a 'free, conversational and definite treatment of a particular philosophical, usually ethical, theme'. It is, in fact, the Dialogue evolving under the pressure of two radically opposed forces, both of which are seeking to come into their own during this period; the tendency, that is to say, to 'natural' or realistic expression, so largely illustrated by Alexandrian poetry; and the influence of Rhetoric, than which the would-be 'natural' can have no deadlier foe. The genius of a Plato can satisfy both instincts in their due measure; his successors eventually give up in despair.

Of the μελέτη, or 'rhetorical exercise' proper, we have gained from the papyri very few examples which can certainly be given an early date. The thing is imitative and ephemeral in its very nature, and it is not surprising that the bulk of what we have acquired should belong to Imperial times. Accordingly they are chiefly significant for their own period, which lies somewhat outside the scope of this collection. They certainly throw light on the local culture of Egypt at that

[1] Ed. Horace, *Satires* (Introd.).
[2] v. Christ, *Griech. Lit.*[6] ii. 1, p. 55.

time; the subjects of the early Ptolemies could avail themselves of the philosophical literature of contemporary Athens later men produced their own μελέται for immediate consumption. The evidence points to a widespread interest in all forms of oratory, many of which had long been of little practical value in public life; the interest in special forensic forms is more intelligible. The language, with its constant striving after Attic forms, the situations illustrated, and the models chosen for imitation show the influence of the 'classical' revival.

The following list of examples of these various prose-forms is not intended to be exhaustive, but merely to illustrate some of the points noticed above; they are chosen mainly from the more accessible publications, such as the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, the *Berlin Classical Texts*, the valuable editions of the *Florentine Papyri*, and those of the *Società Italiana*.

§ 2

The majority of the examples of the true Dialogue which are preserved in papyri lie under the suspicion of being productions of the 'Second Sophistic', that is, from about the time of Trajan to that of Constantine. It will therefore be convenient, in a roughly chronological scheme, to begin with a few instances of fragments which are at the same time of definitely early origin, and partake of the nature of the Diatribe or of the 'popular philosophical' production.

The portion of a speech or treatise *On the Art of Music*[1] has been dated to the middle of the third century B.C.; it was found amongst the wrappings of a mummy of that period. It is in the form of a tirade against the θεωρητικοί, or musical critics. It is alleged of them on the one hand that, while disclaiming the practice of music, they are in the habit of meddling in the business of the executant, with the result that they 'harp worse than the harpers, sing worse than the singers, and in short do everything worse than any one else'. As for their theory, they show their ignorance by the haphazard

[1] *Hibeh Pap.* I, no. 13; Jander, *Oratt. et rhett. Graec. fragg. nuper reperta*, no. 37.

nature of their criticisms.[1] They are also attacked for their advocacy of the moral effect of the Modes, familiar from Plato's remarks on the subject.[2] Against this the author cites the example of the Aetolians and some other tribes, who use the diatonic scale, and yet are braver than the tragic actors (*τραγῳδῶν*)[3] who are accustomed to sing throughout *ἐφ' ἁρμονίας*. Further, it is said that they read a kind of imitative significance, which they cannot properly explain, into certain kinds of music; this tune reminds them of an ivy-leaf, that of a laurel, and so forth. They can merely beat time on their seats (or programmes?) in an inarticulate ecstasy.[4]

The mention of the enharmonic system as still in vogue points to a period earlier than the beginning of the third century B. C., by which time it was fast disappearing, according to Aristoxenus.[5] The question of 'moral effect', on the other hand, seems to have remained a commonplace. It is remarked, for instance, in the fragments of Philodemus,[6] who takes the same side as the present author. The genuine animus displayed may justify us in thinking that it is aimed at contemporary defenders of the theory, at a time when it had a living interest. Blass's theory that the author is Hippias of Elis fits in well with the nature of the piece; judging from his character as portrayed by Plato, it is just the kind of address which he may have given. If, with the editors, we can complete the first line with the words *ὦ ἄνδρες* [*Ἕλληνες*], it may form part of a speech delivered to the assembled Greeks at Olympia, which Hippias mentions as the scene of some of his activities.[7]

[1] l. 4 *λέγοντες γὰρ ὅτι ἁρμονικοί εἰσι, καὶ προχειρισάμενοι ᾠδάς τινας, ταύτας συγκρίνουσιν τῶν μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν κατηγοροῦντες, τὰς δὲ εἰκῇ ἐγκωμιάζοντες.*

[2] e. g. *Rep.* 398–400.

[3] *τραγῳδοί* can be used of the tragic chorus (Ar. *Vesp.* 1498, &c.).

[4] l. 28 *ἐν οἷς δή φασιν διακεῖσθαί πως, οὔθ' ἥντινα φωνὴν ἔχοντες λέγειν, ἐνθουσιῶντες δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν ῥυθμὸν . . . παίοντες τὸ ὑποκείμενον σανίδιον αὐτοῖς ἅμα τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ψαλτηρίου ψόφοις.*

[5] *Harm.* p. 23 Meib.

[6] Mahaffy (quoted by G. and H.). The remarks of Polybius (iv. 20) on the stress laid on musical education in Arcadia, and the effects of its neglect by the Cynaethans, illustrate the persistence of the idea among the Greeks.

[7] *Hipp. Min.* 363 C.

Another fragment of approximately the same date[1] (it was, in fact, taken from the same mummy at Hibeh) illustrates 'popular philosophy' already in its decline. It contains part of a collection of *Sayings of Simonides*, and consists of a series of χρεῖαι or wise saws, a familiar substitute for education when the appetite for reasoning is deficient.[2] The fragment as it stands is evidently the beginning of a book or chapter, and is headed 'On expenses: Simonides' (*ἀνηλωμάτων—Σιμωνίδου*); the remarks of other authorities on this burning question no doubt accompanied it. The poet and philosopher, whom Plato ranks with Bias and Pittacus,[3] is quoted as informing the wife of Hiero of Syracuse that 'everything grows old except the love of gain, and benefits quickest of all'. To another questioner he explains his own frugality by the equally profound remark that *μᾶλλον ἄχθοιτο τοῖς ἀνηλωμένοις ἢ τοῖς περιοῦσιν*. He admits, indeed, that both thrift and prodigality have a bad side (*ἦθος μὲν ἔχειν φαῦλον*), but his application of this truth is not clear. Frugality is inculcated in some further remarks, chiefly, it would seem, on the ground of the convenience of using one's own property and not other people's. 'A man borrows his own money when he uses only necessary and natural food, as the animals do' (l. 26). Simonides seems to have been proverbial as a miser, witness the notices to that effect in Plutarch[4] and Aristotle.[5] It is possible that his interlocutors took him rather too seriously.

Somewhat more thoughtful is the so-called *Anonymous Diatribe*,[6] of which the writing is said to be 'not much posterior to the period of the Herculaneum papyri'; that is, it may be assigned to the second century, but may possibly be later. It appears to be a continuous reply to some interlocutor (real or imaginary).[7] The question at issue, in the

[1] *Hibeh Pap.* I, no. 17; v. Körte, *Archiv f. Pap.* vi. 240 f.

[2] *τί ἐστὶν ἡ χρία; ἀπομνημόνευμα σύντομον ἐπὶ προσώπου τινὸς ἐπαινετόν κτέ.* (*Pap. Soc. Ital.* no. 85).

[3] *Rep.* 335 E.

[4] *An seni*, 786 B Σ. ἔλεγε . . . ὅτι . . . ὑπὸ μιᾶς (*sc.* ἡδονῆς) ἔτι γηροβοσκεῖται τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν.

[5] *Eth. N.* iv. 1. 2 *ὁ ἐλευθέριος εἰς χρήματα . . . Σιμωνίδῃ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος.*

[6] *Flor. Pap.*, no. 113 (edd. Comparetti and Vitelli); v. Körte, *Archiv f. Pap.* vi. 239.

[7] λέγεις σύ (col. ii, l. 16).

better-preserved portion of the fragment, is apparently the virtue of method in ethical instruction. The familiar 'analogy of the arts' is introduced; it is urged that the chance-comer can cure you as well as the doctor; that the unskilled wrestler can upset his trained opponent by 'striking his ankle with a stick or a stone' (l. 15). As against method in the moral and intellectual sphere, a *χρεία* (hitherto unknown) of Socrates is introduced, in which he is represented as replying to Alcibiades' question 'Why does my long association with you do me no good?' with the retort 'Your nightly companions undo the effect of my daily lecture'.[1] The philosophical method of Antisthenes too may have been discussed in connexion with a witty retort.[2] From the very fragmentary remains of the rest of the papyrus, the point of the discussion would seem to be the *παιδεία*, or instruction in the rules of everyday life, of the *ἀστεῖος* or *urbanus*, or of the ordinary person who wishes to become so. It is accordingly appropriate to the new conditions of life, when a purely social ideal, amongst a comfortable middle class, took the place of the freer ideals which had been fostered by the city-state. The moral is that 'empirical and material methods are preferable to mere theory'. Possibly, at the end, an opponent hints that 'it is hard to kindle a spark, but any one can put it out by spitting on it'.[3] The style is in general poor;[4] catch-phrases such as *οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου* are repeated. The argument shows no signs of wishing to go deeper than the level of the *χρεία*. We may suppose an original of the late third century B.C.; it is impossible to give it an author.

Somewhat of a contrast to the unambitious pieces we have been considering is afforded by the two papyri (*Oxyrhynchus Pap.*, nos. 1364 and 1799) which have been identified as

[1] *ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐ δύνασαι βελτίω ποιῆσαι τοσοῦτον χρόνον συνσχολάζοντα;—ἃ γὰρ ἄν, ἔφη, τὴν ἡμέραν διδάξει, ἕτεροι τὴν νύκτα ἀναλύουσιν.*

[2] (l. 26) *φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀντ. μειρακίου τινὸς ἐρᾶν καί τινας βουλομένους θηρεύειν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον παρατιθέναι λοπάδας ἰχθύων . . . καὶ μᾶλα, ἔφη, οὐ θαλαττοκρατοῦμαι δῆτ' ἐγώ.*

[3] (col. iii *ad fin.*) *. . . ἐκκαῦσαι, . . . ἀποσβέσαι δέ γε ὁ τυχὼν εὐ(πόρ?)ως δυνήσεται ἐπιπτύ(σας?).*

[4] (l. 13) *ὁ μὲν γὰρ παλαιστρικῶς σκευαζόμενος βράδεως δ' ἐνίοτε κατέβαλλεν καὶ ἕτερος δὲ τῷ ξύλῳ ἢ λίθῳ παίσας εἰς τὸ σφυρὸν κατέβαλεν.*

belonging to the work *περὶ ἀληθείας* of Antiphon the Sophist,[1] the contemporary of Socrates. The present fragments (which are in different hands) seem both to belong to the early third century A. D. The identification is made certain by a citation in Harpocration[2] from the work in question. The discussion of these important fragments belongs more properly to the general history of philosophy; furthermore, it belongs strictly to the 'classical' period. It is, however, a useful illustration of the kind of composition which was preserved through our period along with the Platonic and Aristotelian traditions, and gives us a further insight into the work of the early Sophists, of which we have too few examples.

The first fragment deals with the familiar opposition between *φύσις* and *νόμος*; the Sophists seem, after all, to have expressed with considerable boldness the 'anti-social' doctrine of obedience to Nature instead of to man-made law. It begins with a conventional definition of justice.[3] Proceeding from this, the author argues that the exercise of justice will be more profitable to a man if he be content with showing respect for the law before witnesses, whilst reverting to *φύσις* when they are absent. The necessity of natural law, and the conventionality of man-made regulations are insisted on; the sanctions of Nature have greater validity.[4] After this point the course of the statement is not quite so clear. It is argued, in effect, that obedience to law may, in certain cases, be productive of pain, and therefore harm, to the individual. It is observed that, under the law of Nature, 'life results from the things that are beneficial' (which is assumed to be the same as 'pleasurable') and 'death from those that are not beneficial'.

[1] Described by Suidas as *Ἀθηναῖος τερατοσκόπος καὶ ἐποποιὸς καὶ σοφιστής· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ λογομάγειρος.* He is mentioned by Xenophon (*Mem.* i. 6) as an opponent of Socrates. For a recent treatment of the fragments see E. Barker, *Greek Political Theory*, pp. 66–9 and 83 ff.

[2] *Lex. dec. orat.* s. v. *ἄγει·* Ἀ. *ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀληθείας φησί 'τοὺς νόμους μεγάλους ἄγοι' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἡγοῖτο'.* The confusion with the contemporary orator of the same name occurs here.

[3] (l. 6) *δικαιοσύνη πάντα τῆς πόλεως νόμιμα, ἐν ᾗ ἂν πολιτεύηταί τις, μὴ παραβαίνειν.*

[4] (l. 43) *τῶν δὲ τῇ φύσει ξυμφύτων, ἐάν τε παρὰ τὸ δυνατὸν βιάζηται, ἐάν τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους λάθῃ, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τὸ κακόν, ἐάν τε πάντες ἴδωσιν οὐδὲν μεῖζον. οὐ γὰρ διὰ δόξαν βλάπτεται, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀλήθειαν.*

Man-made law, on the contrary, does not always favour actions which would come under this definition. It is merely primitive, and content with penalizing actions which it ought to have been able to prevent in the first instance; to this extent it is unfair both to the injured and to the aggressor.[1] After a break in the papyrus the author passes to the subject of the equality of men under the law of Nature, from the point of view both of social equality within the state and of cosmopolitanism.[2]

The second fragment considers justice in its practical application to evidence given in courts of law. It may not be just to give true evidence—that is, if it results in injury to the person testified against; and it is not just to wrong another if one has received no injury from him. All legal procedure is to be condemned as benefiting one man at the expense of another.[3] (One wonders how the author intends to show the superiority, in this respect, of 'Nature red in tooth and claw'.)

It would no doubt be unfair to judge a writer by a fragment, even when as considerable as this; but there seems reason to call Antiphon's point of view narrow and individualistic, in spite of his pious eulogies of universal brotherhood. He seems to have a 'blind spot' for the conception of the individual as part of society, and accordingly the sufferer at the hands of its injurers, which to Plato is almost a truism. It is a short-sighted expediency which lies at the root of all his arguments. As to his style in general, there is an extant criticism of it by Hermogenes, the rhetorician of the second century A. D., who denies him the appellation of *πολιτικός*.[4] He remarks that he is *σεμνός* and *ὑπέρογκος* (the criticism would not seem to apply very severely to these fragments);

[1] (l. 177) *καὶ οὔτε ἐνταῦθα διεκώλυε τὸν πάσχοντα μὴ παθεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸν δρῶντα δρᾶσαι, εἴς τε τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναφερόμενον οὐδὲν ἰδιώτερον ἐπὶ τῷ πεπονθότι ἢ τῷ δεδρακότι.*

[2] (l. 268) *τοὺς δὲ ἐκ φαύλου οἴκ[ου ὄντας] οὔτε ἐπ[αιδούμε]θα οὔτε σεβόμ[εθα]· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλους βεβαρβαρώ[με]θα· ἐπεὶ πάντα πάντες ὁμοίως πεφύκαμεν καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ Ἕλληνες εἶναι.* (l. 289) *οὔτε βάρβαρος ἀφώρισται ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς οὔτε Ἕλλην· ἀναπνέομέν τε γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἅπαντες κατὰ τὸ στόμα καὶ κατὰ τὰς ῥῖνας.*

[3] (l. 63) *φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ δικάζειν καὶ τὸ κρίνειν καὶ τὸ διαιτᾶν, ὅπως ἂν περαίνηται, οὐ δίκαια ὄντα· τὸ γὰρ ἄλλους ὠφελοῦν ἄλλους βλάπτει.*

[4] *De ideis* ii. 11. 17.

and alludes to his habit of downright or superficial statement (*τῷ δι' ἀποφάνσεων περαίνειν τὸ πᾶν*)—which seems justified in some degree. The end of the first fragment further illustrates the charge of a certain want of logical connexion and lucidity (*συγχεῖ τὸν λόγον καὶ ἔστιν ἀσαφὴς τὰ πολλά*).

A small fragment on the subject of religion,[1] dated by the editors to the first century B.C. or the first century A.D., possibly goes back to an earlier original, though its vocabulary is certainly post-classical (e.g. *συμπεριφορά* in col. ii). It even supplies us with a new word, *χαριστωνία*, 'buying thanks'. It shows some signs of being an Epicurean 'tract for the times'; Wilamowitz[2] describes it as a 'justification of the participation by Epicureans in State worship'. A reasonable conformity is advocated, without prejudice to the enlightened view of the Supreme Being which the worshipper must inwardly maintain. A man who admits that he fears the gods and is prepared to make the usual sacrifices may be *χαριέστερος ἄλλων ἰδιωτῶν* (l. 13), but even so he has not yet the root of the matter in him (*οὐδὲ ταύτῃ πω τὸ βέβαιον εὐσεβείας ὑπάρχει*). 'But do thou, O man, consider that the most blessed state lies in the formation of a just conception of the best thing that we can possibly imagine to exist; let this be the object of thy reverence and worship.' The second column of the fragment apparently alludes to this inward object of contemplation as that which should be kept in view when indulging in the ordinary pleasures of life, or even when conforming to conventional acts of worship.[3] There must, however, be no element of fear in this attitude. 'Why in the name of Zeus, to use the common expression',[4] should you fear the gods? If it implies a conviction on your part that you can injure them (and so draw their resentment upon you), that is derogatory to the godhead, which cannot be conceived of as being worsted by man. The sentiments are certainly Epicurean; Diogenes Laertius (x. 27) says that Epicurus

[1] *Oxyrh. Pap.*, no. 215. [2] *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1900, p. 35.

[3] (col. ii, l. 2) *ἐὰν εὐκαιρῇ, τιμῶν αὐτὴν τὴν θεωρίαν σεαυτοῦ ταῖς συγγένεσιν κατὰ σάρκα ἡδοναῖς, αἵ ποτ' ἂν καθήκωσιν, ἀλλά ποτε καὶ τῇ τῶν νόμων συμπεριφορᾷ* ('compliance with'?) *χρωμένου σοῦ.*

[4] (col. ii, l. 12) *τί γάρ, ὦ πρὸς Διός, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, δέδοικας κτέ.*

himself wrote *περὶ θεῶν* and *περὶ ὁσιότητος*; but it is hard to believe that this work could have been from his own hand. The barbarism *χρωμένου σοῦ*[1] (see note above) is to be remarked; if it is a corruption of the text, it is difficult to see what the original can have been, as there can be no question, in the context, of cutting off any letters at the end.

Other philosophical examples must be taken chiefly from the Imperial period (first to third centuries A. D.), though some of them are possibly copies of earlier works. We may notice here the *Philosophical Controversy* (*Flor. Pap.* no. 115), whose content seems to have some interest, though it is unfortunately very short and fragmentary. It is apparently in dialogue form (*ὦ Δημόκριτε*, verso l. 10), though this may be no more than a literary apostrophe. Some statement, or statements, of Socrates (? Hippocrates) and Heraclitus appear to be criticized.[2] The problem discussed appears to be that of the origin of ideas or cognitions in the child, and at once suggests the language of Socrates with regard to *ἀνάμνησις*. It is possible, however, to complete the defective personal name to 'Hippocrates'; works called *περὶ διαίτης*, *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου*, *περὶ φύσιος παιδίου* are ascribed to him. But further evidence is lacking; there is no known saying of Hippocrates which could be confronted, as here, with one of Heraclitus. This is not so in the case of Socrates; in fact such a conjunction of allusions is actually ascribed by Plutarch to Colotes, a pupil and admirer of Epicurus, against whom he wrote a treatise. On this ground Colotes has been suggested as a possible author of the present fragment. He is mentioned as a systematic opponent of most of the distinguished names in philosophy (Democritus, Empedocles, Socrates, Plato, &c.), and in fact as the author of a book, dedicated to Ptolemy (? Philopator), *περὶ τοῦ ὅτι κατὰ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων δόγματα οὐδὲ ζῆν ἔστιν*.[3] Plutarch remarks, in the same work,[4]

[1] Pap. *χρωμενοῦσου*.

[2] (verso, l. 1) *ἑαυτὸν δὲ διζή[σασθαι λέγοντα Ἡρά]κλειτον μᾶλλον [ἀληθεύειν ἢ τὸν Σωκ]ράτην, ὃς κἂν ταῖς [ζητήσεσιν οὐκ εὐπαί]δευτον εἶπεν εἶ[ναι τὴν ψυχήν, εὑρίσ]κουσαν οὐ μαθοῦσαν . . . ὦ Δημόκριτε . . ποῦ μαθὼν εὐθὺς . . . τῷ γεγονέναι θηλάζεται καὶ . . . μαστῷ . . . παιδίον . . . τάδ' ἐδιδάχθη . . .* (the supplements are those of the Italian editors).

[3] Plut. *adv. Colot.* 1. [4] c. 20.

that Colotes found humour in difficulties that simply caused Socrates to think; and that he singled out certain remarks of Socrates and Heraclitus for ridicule. The phrase of the latter which he quotes is the same that occurs here (*Ἐδιζησάμην ἐμεωυτόν*). It seems possible, then, that we may have some of Colotes' work here, though the acquisition is in any case very small.

The Italian papyri provide us with some further examples of the slighter instructional literature. There is the fragment of a treatise[1] dealing with the difficulties of artists or craftsmen (*τεχνῖται*) when under the influence of disturbing emotions.[2] The style of the piece, so far as it goes, is good; it is remarkable for the number of post-classical words which occur in it in such a short space. It is probably a production of the second century A. D.

Another[3] belongs to the most tiresome class of *Florilegia Sententiarum*, with which we can probably feel less sympathy than with any other of these humble types. They seem, however, to have enjoyed wide popularity. The present example is fairly representative; the maxims included are mostly of a prudential nature. 'Do not laugh at jokes; you will become the enemy of the people who are the object of the jokes'; '*τοῖς φίλοις πίστευε καὶ τὰ ἄπιστα, τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς ἀπίστει καὶ τὰ πιστά*'; 'Marry from among your equals'; 'Mind your own business'; '*λέγε μὲν τὰ ἥδιστα, πρᾶσσε δὲ τὰ συμφέροντα*'—the last remark is perhaps the most typical of this style of morality.

The department of Biography, having regard to its undoubted popularity in the Hellenistic period, is not so well represented as we might expect. There is, however, a fragment of such a work[4] which, though disappointing in itself, can at least be referred to a definite author. This is stated in the surviving title to be 'Heraclides son of Sarapion'; and the work of which the fragment is a part is his 'epitome of

[1] *Pap. Soc. Ital.*, no. 152.

[2] *αὐτίκα γοῦν οἱ τεχνῖται πολλὰ ψευδογραφοῦνται οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν ὁρμώμενοι, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀδυνατήσωσι συγχρήσασθαι ταῖς τέχναις, ἤτοι πάθει κρατηθέντες ἑτέρῳ, οἷον ὀργαῖς ἢ λύπαις, ἢ παρά τινα ἀτονίαν ψυχῆς καὶ ἀνεπιστρεψίαν κτέ.*

[3] *Pap. Soc. Ital.*, no. 120.

[4] *Oxyrh. Pap.*, no. 1367.

Hermippus on the Law-givers, the Seven Wise Men, and Pythagoras'—three distinct works. Hermippus, called *Καλλιμαχείος*, wrote at the end of the third century B.C. The epitomator is almost certainly Heraclides Lembus, whom Suidas describes as *'Οξυρυγχίτης φιλόσοφος, ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη λέμβος . . . ὃς τὰς πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἔθετο συνθήκας. ἔγραψε φιλόσοφα καὶ ἄλλα.* Diogenes Laertius, in his enumeration of the namesakes of Heraclides Ponticus (v. 94), also mentions Heraclides Lembus (whom he frequently quotes elsewhere as an author of epitomes). The difficulty lies in the fact that he calls him in that place *Καλλατιανὸς ἢ Ἀλεξανδρεύς*. In order, therefore, to complete the identification of the present writer with Lembus, we are reduced to the supposition, either that he migrated from Callatis to Oxyrhynchus, and so could be named from both, or that Diogenes has confused two Heraclidae, at least with regard to the place of their origin. Neither of these suggestions would appear to present much difficulty.[1] (The confusion of the rather more distinguished pair of Antiphons has been noticed above.)

The fragment contains part of the epitome of the *περὶ νομοθετῶν*, and is made up of the end of Book i, which deals with an unidentifiable person living under one of the Ptolemies, and finally with Demonax, the law-giver of the Cyrenaeans, who is styled 'King of the Mantineans', instead of merely *ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον*, as Herodotus calls him (iv. 161). (What system the book can have been arranged upon is therefore beyond conjecture.) Book ii opens with a list of Athenian law-givers; bare mention of Cecrops, Buzyges, and a problematical Archimachus being given, when the fragment breaks off. There is a final unconnected reference to the *βουλευτὰς τετρακοσίους*, but not enough to show to whom their introduction was credited. It is on the whole a very poor specimen of the epitome; if the *Βίοι* of Satyrus, which Heraclides seems to have epitomized, were dealt with in the same way, we may congratulate ourselves on having obtained an original specimen of that author's work.[2]

[1] v. *New Chapters in Greek Literature* (1st series), pp. 145 *n.* and 146.

[2] Satyrus is also called *Καλλατιανός* in a fragment from Herculaneum

§ 3

There are few examples in papyrus fragments of previously unknown Dialogues which can be said with comparative certainty to derive from the earliest period. Amongst these may be mentioned a portion of a protreptic discourse in favour of the study of philosophy (*Oxyrh. Pap.* no. 666), which corresponds approximately to an excerpt 'from Aristotle' in Stobaeus (*Flor.* 3. 54).[1] This excerpt is concerned primarily with *φρόνησις* as a necessary element in human happiness; and emphasizes the truth that wealth and physical advantages do not contribute to happiness unless they are accompanied by moral excellence. The papyrus fragment, whilst generally confirming the text of Stobaeus, and in some minor points modifying it, makes an important addition at the end; namely, that *φρόνησις* 'seeks ends, the means to which are contained in philosophy; why then should philosophy not be pursued without hesitation (*πῶς οὐκ ἀπροφασίστως φιλοσοφητέον*)?' This makes it practically certain that the excerpt is taken from Aristotle's *Προτρεπτικός*. That a work of this description was attributed to him we know from another citation in Stobaeus, 'from the epitome of Teles' (*Flor.* 95. 21), where it is said that it was addressed to the Cyprian king Themison. Some further light is thrown on the matter by the evidence of later works which seem to owe something to the *Προτρεπτικός*. Thus the author of the life of Saloninus Gallienus (c. 2) tells us that Cicero wrote his *Hortensius* 'ad exemplum Protreptici'; and amongst the fragments of that dialogue (as contained in the works of St. Augustine) is to be found at least one express acknowledgement by Cicero of a quotation from Aristotle.[2] It seems probable, then, that Aristotle's composition was, formally at least, a Dialogue, and that it was 'the Protrepticus' *par excellence*. Further, an essay (not, however, in dialogue

(Crönert in *Rhein. Mus.* (1902), lvii. 295). It is possible, then, that there may have been some confusion, in the notes of Diogenes or his source, between the epitomist and his victim.

[1] Ed. Hense, iii, p. 200; Aristotle (Rose [2]), fr. 57.

[2] Aristotle (Rose [2]), fr. 60.

form) by Iamblichus, the Pythagorean philosopher of the time of Constantine, is extant, which bears the same title, and is concerned with the same subject. It is true that Iamblichus professes to derive his ideas from Pythagoras, but Bywater[1] has sufficiently demonstrated Iamblichus' real dependence on Aristotle, so far as concerns a large portion of the work. In addition to this there is almost verbal correspondence between certain passages in Iamblichus and in the *Hortensius* fragments; but a comparison of these will show that it is highly improbable that Iamblichus copied Cicero.[2] The presumption then is that both these works are indebted in some measure to the Protrepticus of Aristotle. As for the further question whether the present fragment is to be definitely assigned to that work, it has to be admitted that it does not contain any precise parallel to anything in the fragments of the *Hortensius* or in the Protreptic of Iamblichus, save that in the final passage (noticed above) occurs the proverbial warning against 'giving a child a knife', that is, entrusting unworthy persons with power. This, as noticed by the editors of the *Oxyrh. Pap.*, corresponds to a similar proverb in Iamblichus (c. 2);[3] but it is actually a well-worn commonplace which might have been derived from any of a number of sources. It is possible that another passage in Iamblichus may reflect the sense of a fresh sentence (somewhat obscured by corruption) which the papyrus fragment inserts in the middle of the text as we have it in Stobaeus.[4] Having regard then to the natural improba-

[1] *Journal of Philology*, vol. ii, pp. 55 sqq.

[2] See especially Rose, fr. 60, and Bywater (*l. c.*), p. 60.

[3] *Pap.*, ll. 155 sqq. *τὸ γὰρ μὴ παιδὶ μάχαιραν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ τοῖς φαύλοις τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐγχειρίζειν.* Iambl. c. 2 *ἐπισφαλὲς καὶ ὅμοιον μαινομένῳ δοῦναι μάχαιραν καὶ μοχθηρῷ δύναμιν.*

[4] *Pap.*, ll. 109 ff. *χωρὶς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων συμβαίνει τοῖς μηδενὸς ἀξίοις οὖσιν, ὅταν τύχωσι χ[ρηγί]ας καὶ τῶν διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν †πλεονασασα ει†* (? diplography of *πλεονάσῃ*) *αὐτῶν, εἶναι τὰ κτήματα πάντων αἴσχιστον κτέ.* Iambl. c. 19 (ed. Teubner, p. 90) *χρὴ οὖν πάντα ἄνδρα, ἐάν τι καὶ ἄλλο ἀσκῇ, μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀσκεῖν, εἰδότα ὅτι τούτου λειπόμενα ἅπαντα καὶ κτήματα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα αἰσχρὰ καὶ κακά. οὔτε γὰρ πλοῦτος κάλλος φέρει τῷ κεκτημένῳ μετὰ ἀνανδρίας (ἄλλῳ γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος πλουτεῖ καὶ οὐχ ἑαυτῷ), οὔτε σώματος κάλλος καὶ ἰσχὺς δειλῷ καὶ κακῷ συνοικοῦντα πρέποντα φαίνεται ἀλλ' ἀπρεπῆ, καὶ ἐπιφανέστερον ποιεῖ τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ ἐκφαίνει τὴν δειλίαν.*

For further discussion of points in the fragment see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1904), p. 674.

bility of finding more definite parallels in a piece of this length, it seems reasonable to include it provisionally amongst the fragments of Aristotle's Protrepticus.

Next is a papyrus of the late second century A. D., containing part of a dialogue with Socrates and Alcibiades as interlocutors.[1] This is probably from a work of Aeschines, a friend and follower of Socrates. Diogenes Laertius informs us that Aeschines was at one time accused of publishing dialogues of Socrates as his own; some doubt was also thrown on the authorship of some other of his works. Seven dialogues, says Diogenes, really were the work of Aeschines, amongst which he mentions an *Axiochus* and an *Alcibiades*. Panaetius, however, considered all his Socratic dialogues to be genuine.

The present fragment opens with a conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades. Socrates is using the example of Themistocles, and alludes to his reported quarrel with his father.[2] He then passes to another question. 'Must not men be *ἄμουσοι* and *ἄφιπποι* before they become musical or skilled in the management of horses?' (Alcibiades presumably assents). After a gap in the papyrus, the subject of Themistocles comes up again. A new party in the conversation, Apollodorus, is alluded to as making a good defence on behalf of *τὸ φαῦλον* (or *ὁ φαῦλος*?).[3] Alcibiades objects to the story of the disinheritance as reflecting on Themistocles' character and intelligence; Socrates replies that a quarrel with one's parents is not necessarily a petty action. In the remainder of the fragments there are traces of a eulogy of Themistocles' conduct during the Persian invasion.

The work is fortunately identifiable by citations in Aelius Aristides,[4] the orator of the second century A.D. He gives a long verbal quotation from Aeschines' *Alcibiades*, part of which is

[1] *Oxyrh. Pap.*, no. 1608.

[2] Themistocles is said to have been disinherited by his father. Plutarch (*vit. Them.* 2) mentions this story, but discredits it.

[3] (l. 34) *καλῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ φαύλου ἀπολογεῖσθαι.—Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο, ἦ δ' ὅς* (*sc.* Alcibiades), *ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ᾤμην τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποκηρυχθῆναι· φαύλου γὰρ καὶ πόρρω ἀνοίας ἥκοντα τά γε τοιαῦτα· ὅστις εἰς διαφορὰς τοιαύτας . . . πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονέας κατέστη, ὃ καὶ παιδάριον εὐλαβηθῆναι ⟨ἄν⟩ εὕροιτο.*

[4] Principally xlvi. 222 ff. (ed. Dindorf), and *ibid.* 285.

evidently reproduced in the panegyric on Themistocles noticed at the end of the present fragments. The general idea of the dialogue seems to have been the same as Plato's; the curbing, that is, of the *ὕβρις* of Alcibiades by contrasting him with better men than himself, and the attempt to convince him of the necessity of improving himself by acquiring knowledge of essential matters. Aristides further quotes Aeschines as stating that Alcibiades was moved to tears by his final conviction of his inferiority to Themistocles. Cicero (*Tusc. disp.* iii. 32) also mentions that Alcibiades was caused by Socrates to weep at the proof of his own worthlessness. It is possible, therefore, that he is alluding to Aeschines' dialogue; it would seem, from the space devoted to it by Aristides, that it enjoyed some popularity. Aristides' longer quotation from it gives a favourable impression of Aeschines' style.

Other papyrus dialogues, as has been said, are not so easily placed in the earlier period. An example of a doubtful case is afforded by the 'Pisistratus' dialogue,[1] the handwriting of which points to the third century A.D. It has considerable intrinsic interest, and contains some unusually complete passages (the first column is almost perfect). The first part consists of a narrative, the second of a reported conversation; the narrator uses the first person in both, but his name is not revealed, and it is not possible to conjecture what it may have been. The introductory story describes the return of the narrator to Athens from Ionia, where he had been staying in the company of Solon for some time, after the usurpation of Pisistratus. He had returned at the instance of both Pisistratus and Solon.[2] There he relates that he found a young ward, Thrasybulus, who during his absence had grown from a boy to a young man of aristocratic and expensive tastes, who in looks and manners excelled his contemporaries, in a society which had become debased. It was said against him that he was in love with Pisistratus' younger daughter.[3]

[1] *Oxyrh. Pap.*, no. 664.

[2] *χρόνῳ δὲ τῶν φίλων σπουδαζόντων ἥκειν με, καὶ μάλιστα Πισιστράτου διὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα, Σόλωνος κελεύοντος ἐπανῆλθον Ἀθήναζε.*

[3] (l. 23) *διὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων κατάστασιν οὐδεὶς ἐπεδεδώκει πρὸς μεγαλοφυείαν. πάντας δὲ ὑπερέβαλεν ἱπποτροφίαις καὶ κυνηγίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δαπά-

A gap occurs before the reported dialogue. When it opens, the narrator is taking part in a discussion, apparently on the question whether it is better to be a ruler or to be ruled. He remarks that 'if this be true, it would be of no more advantage to Periander to rule than to be ruled by another, nor to any other bad ruler' (l. 91). Such a man is likely to be punished for his misdeeds, either by the misfortunes of his country or of his near relations. There are three others present; Pisistratus himself, and two persons who appear to have been staying with Periander. One of them, Ariphron, sets out to relate some disaster which has befallen Periander. He prefaces this with the beginning of a narrative which starts long before Periander's tyranny.[1] Here the fragment ends.

Some interesting historical points are raised. In the first place, the statement of Plutarch as to Solon's continued stay at Athens after the usurpation of Pisistratus is contradicted (l. 1, 'he went abroad before Pisistratus seized the government' —the person referred to is evidently Solon). The *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* is non-committal on the point. If the present statement could be accepted, it might be possible for Solon to have met Croesus in Lydia. Further, the synchronization of Periander and Pisistratus is in accordance with one of Herodotus' versions of the chronology of this period;[2] not, however, with his more probable statement that Periander was a contemporary of Thrasybulus of Miletus, and so of Alyattes of Lydia.[3] It would be a mistake, however, to expect any historical exactitude from a production of this kind.

Those in favour of an earlier date[4] are inclined to find the author in Heraclides Ponticus, a Peripatetic writer and successor of Aristotle, or even in Aristotle himself. The latter

ναις. διεβέβ η δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς νεωτέρας τῶν τοῦ Π. θυγατέρων ἐρᾶν, ἰδὼν ἀρρηφοροῦσαν.

[1] (l. 102) *ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀρίφρων, Ἀληθῆ νὴ Δί', ἔφη, λέγεις· καὶ βουλόμεθά σοι μαρτυρῆσαι ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀδείμαντος οὑτοσί παραγενόμενοι νυνὶ Περιάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν ὠμότητα μεγάλῃ πάνυ συμφορᾷ περιπεσόντι. καὶ ὁ Πισίστρατος, Τίνι ταύτῃ; ἔφη. Ἐγώ, εἶπεν, φράσω. πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ Κυψέλον τὸν Π. πατέρα λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκράτουν τῆς πόλεως οἱ καλούμενοι Βακχιάδαι κτέ.*

[2] v. 94, 95 (arbitration of Periander between Athens and Mytilene).

[3] i. 20. The year of the eclipse (585 B.C.) is a fixed point in Alyattes' reign.

[4] v. the editors of the *Oxyrh. Pap.*, *ad loc.*; Fr. Blass, *Archiv f. Pap.*, iii. 497.

view is thought to gain some support from verbal coincidences with the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, if indeed this is a work of Aristotle, and not rather of his school. Giving these their due weight (which does not appear to be considerable), they would indicate little more than a participation in the historical traditions of Aristotle's school. Granting this, there is something to be said for Heraclides Ponticus. Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Heraclides, says that he wrote *συγγράμματα κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα . . . διάλογοι . . . περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς α΄ καὶ νόμων α΄*. It was his habit, as we know from Cicero,[1] to introduce historical characters into his dialogues. Diogenes further quotes him (i. 94) as an authority for the family of Periander's wife, and this from a treatise *περὶ ἀρχῆς*. There would therefore seem to be a fairly strong case for him.

It is objected, however,[2] that certain words and usages in the text cannot be reconciled with the theory that it is an early third-century production. *εἰς οἶκον* for *εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν* is certainly not good Attic; and there is a curious sequence of tenses in which the remote past is represented by an aorist (*κατέλιπον*), and the proximate by a pluperfect (*κατειλήφειν*). A stumbling-block is also found in the word *ἀρρηφοροῦσαν*, on the ground that the true Attic form should be *ἐρρηφορεῖν*. There does not appear to be enough evidence for this, at any rate so far as concerns literary usage.[3] Still, in view of the time at which our copy was written, it is quite possible that it was the work of a late Atticizer; and this is perhaps the safer assumption.

The 'Macedonian Dialogue', or 'Dialogue on the Divinity of Alexander',[4] has been the subject of much discussion ever since its discovery. The text consists of two separate but contemporary fragments of the second century A.D. They are in different hands, and each has the same peculiarity of

[1] *Ad Att.* xiii. 19. 3 'hoc in antiquis personis suaviter fit, ut et Heraclides in multis et nos in sex "de re publica" libris fecimus.' Aristotle's dialogues were distinguished by the participation of the author; Cic. *ibid.* 'quae autem his temporibus scripsi Ἀριστοτέλειον morem habent, in quo ita sermo inducitur ceterorum ut penes ipsum sit principatus'.

[2] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1904), p. 666.

[3] v. Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*; *C. I.*, 431 (*ἐρρηφορεῖν*).

[4] *Freiburg Papyri*, nos. 8 and 7.

ending a short distance from the top of a column; they are, however, evidently related in form and subject-matter; and the tendency of commentators since the original treatment by W. Aly[1] has been to bring them into still closer conjunction.[2] The form is that of the direct, not the reported, dialogue; the language is the Greek of everyday life; there are passages here and there of rhetorical or quasi-poetical diction, but they rather give the effect of 'purple patches'.

Owing to the very lacerated condition of both fragments, it is not easy to give an account of the contents with any confidence. The gist of them seems, however, to be as follows. Two persons, Mnesippus and Callistratus, who are possibly an Athenian and a Macedonian respectively, are having a private conversation on the state of affairs in Macedonia. Callistratus is nervous, and on the look out for spies. Mnesippus encourages him, and endeavours to make him speak his mind.[3] Callistratus then begins to complain of the tyranny and lawlessness which reign in the country. Antipater is apparently the tyrant complained of; he is *προπετέστερος* and *ἰταμός*, and royal state does not befit him. He is at enmity with (?) the queen-mother Olympias. Alexander had a royal and divine soul; Antipater will make himself the enemy of all Macedonia. The divinity of Alexander has shown the height to which a ruler can attain (?). 'But stay! Antipater comes!'[4] Antipater then enters, and begins what seems to be a complacent review of the state of the country.[5] (Here the first fragment ends, and in the middle of a word.) The second fragment, where it becomes intelligible, gives us the

[1] See his article in *Sitzungsb. d. Heid. Akad. d. Wiss.* v (1914), p. 25 ff.

[2] e. g. Crönert, *Nachr. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Gött.* (1922), pp. 1–46, and Reitzenstein (*ibid.*).

[3] (i. 3) [*τί ὀξ*]*ὺ φερόμενος, ὦ Καλίστρατε, πυκνότερα* [*περι*]*σκέπτῃ καὶ τύπτεις ἑαυτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν*; [*τί νυν*]*ε*[*ὶ ο*]*ὐκ ἀνθορῶς, μὰ Δί', ἀλγεινότερός τε ἢ κατ' ἀ*[*ξί*]*αν προελήλυθας*; *ἐπίστησον οὖν κατὰ τὸ γενναῖον* [*καὶ*] *λέγε μοι θαρρῶν τί σοι συμβεβήκει.*

[4] (i. 27) *δῆλον ἦν ὡς οὐδὲν θειότερον τῆς Ἀ. ψυχῆς, ὡς θνητὸς ὢν βίον ἔσχεν εἰς ἀθανασίαν δόξης, Ἀντίπατρος δ' ἑαυτὸν ποιήσετε* (*sic*) *ἀπάσης Μ. ἐχθρόν. τοιγαροῦν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου θιότης τὸν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὅρον ἐκτίθιτε* (*sic*). *ἀλλ' αὐτὸς Ἀντίπατρος* [*ἐ*]*πέρχετε* (*sic*)· *μεταστῆναι.*

[5] *Μακεδονία μὲν εὐδαίμων καὶ πάλαι, νῦν μέν*(*τοι ?*). (The *καί* seems to make it unlikely that he is going to say that M. is now unfortunate.)

end of a report by Menaechmus, an officer of Antipater, who has been ordered, apparently, to bring Olympias' reply to some demand of the regent. It is much mutilated, but contains what looks like a vindication of Alexander's divine origin and a complaint about Antipater's attitude to the queen.[1] Antipater is enraged; and after some scathing remarks upon Alexander's behaviour in the East, orders his officer to go once more and bring the queen-mother in person.[2] After another gap in the papyrus, the speaker is Antipater's son Cassander, in the rather surprising role of an apologist for the queen. He addresses his father as *βασιλεῦ*, and appears to plead, on Olympias' behalf, the suddenness of her son's death, and the excusability of her natural grief.[3] 'She will be more reasonable by-and-by.' Antipater praises his son's good disposition. Olympias herself is now seen approaching, and possibly utters the last intelligible words of the fragment.[4]

It would be useless to attempt to fit the situation here assumed into an exact place in real history. If we are to suppose that the news of Alexander's death is true, then there is reason to think that Olympias was at the time in refuge in Epirus, after her earlier quarrels with Antipater. She did not, in fact, return to Macedonia until her recall by Polyperchon.[5] It is possible to interpret the text as referring to a mere rumour, but if so the situation loses much of its force. The 'murders' of Alexander's 'comrades' especially point to the very end of his career. Antipater never assumed the title of *βασιλεύς*, so far as is known. Nor does the question of

[1] (iii. 10) [ὡ]ς ἦλθο[ν πρὸς Ὀλυ]μπιάδα... (l. 12) '[ὁ Ἀλέξαν]δρος, φησί... (l. 15) καὶ ἡ στερόπη Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτόθ[εν ..... ὑπερ]ανέτειλε τῶν Φιλιππε[ίω]ν υἱῶν... (l. 17) Ἀντίπατρος [δὲ ἀδοξεῖ] τὴν βασιλίδα.'

[2] (iii. 24) [ἡμῖν δὲ μέθη?] ἐθρυλήθη καὶ τύπωμα Δαρείου [καὶ ἑταίρ]ων θάνατος, ὧν Ἀλέξανδρος σύνοιδεν [φονεὺς ὤν?]... (l. 27) γνώσεταί με δεσπότην [ὄντα· ἕως ν]ῦν γὰρ ἀδοξεῖ, αἰσθήσεται δ' ἐμοῦ κολαζο[μένη κα]τὰ σθένος. ἀλλ' ἴθι, Μέναιχμε, κτέ.

[3] (iv. 13) ... [π]ροσέχειν δ' αὐτῇ συνγνώμη, καὶ [ὡς τ]ὸ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης προσφάτως παρέστη· τέθνηκεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς καὶ ⟨εἰ⟩ μὴ γεγεννήκει τὸν βασιλέα ἀνάγκην εἶχε πενθεῖν, καὶ ὅτι γεγεννήκει. (γεννᾶν is used of the mother by Aeschylus and Aristotle.)

[4] (iv. 23) ἀλλ' ὁρῶ προσιοῦσαν τὴν θεομήτορα, τοῖς [διασκ]ευῆς μύθοις μεγάλα φρονοῦσα (*sic*), καὶ τοὺ[ς ἐ]πιχωρίους βασιλεῖς ἀδοξοῦσα καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Ὀλυμπιάς· Οὕτω σοβαρῶς καὶ τυραννικῶς; ἔξεστι γάρ σοι διαλέγεσθαι....

[5] Diodorus, xviii. 49.

Alexander's divinity appear to have excited so much controversy in the period following his death, though it may be noted that Suidas quotes Arrian as stating that *μόνος τῶν διαδόχων (Ἀντίπατρος) θεὸν καλέσαι Ἀλέξανδρον οὐχ εἵλετο, ἀσεβὲς τοῦτο κρίνας*. Olympias' own feelings on the subject, as noted by other authorities, are not very clear. Plutarch (*vit. Alex.* 3) tells us that she impressed the idea on her son when he was setting out for his campaigns; whilst others represented her as becoming impatient with it,[1] no doubt when she realized its practical consequences. It seems preferable on the whole to see in the composition a pseudo-historical presentation of an idea which had a universal interest in the Roman Empire at this time, and also, perhaps, a special and local interest; the pronouncement of Jupiter Ammon was the connecting link between the royal and divine traditions of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies. The piece, moreover, is written not in any fictitious literary medium, but in the popular speech.

The question of its form presents a different set of problems. Assuming that the two fragments are parts of the same work (and very probably continuous, since one of the sheets has a wide left margin, as if for gumming together), it is not obvious why they both end off so abruptly in the middle of a page. Why, too, should such short pieces be given to different copyists? There are evidences of haste, especially in the second fragment; there are some examples of discordant syntax and childish spelling, as may be seen in the notes to this chapter. We might vote unhesitatingly for a school dictation exercise, except that in that case we should probably have the same piece. Another possibility is that they are paraphrases of two consecutive portions of the same work, executed by two pupils. The practice was a common one, both among people of elegant leisure, like Pliny, and in primary schools. St. Augustine mentions that he got good marks for a paraphrase of Juno's speech in the *Aeneid*.[2]

[1] *ἕτεροι δέ φασιν αὐτὴν ἀφοσιοῦσθαι καὶ λέγειν· Οὐ παύσεταί με διαβάλλων Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὴν Ἥραν*; Plut. *loc. cit.*

[2] *Confessions*, i. 17. An example of a short and very bald Homeric paraphrase is provided by *Pap. Soc. Ital.*, no. 135. Dio Chrysostom's

But, if so, of what was it a paraphrase? Advocates of the theory that we have here a paraphrased version of a 'Hellenistic historical tragedy' can show some grounds for supposing that such a *genre* existed. A glance through any list of the titles of Greek plays reveals comparatively little, but there was, it appears, an inclination in the early fifth century to use the saga of the Persian War for this purpose, as evidenced by the *Persae* and *Μιλήτου ἅλωσις* of Aeschylus and Phrynichus. We may suspect that not a little of the interest felt in this motive arose from contemporary political controversy, and tended to focus itself round the intriguing personality of Themistocles. His name occurs, in fact, as the title of two lost plays, one by the fourth-century Moschion, the other by the Alexandrian Philicus. Lycophron, another member of the 'Tragic Pleiad,' wrote a historical tragedy, the *Καασανδρεῖς*. If something out of the way is required, it may be found in the remains of a ponderous drama on the subject of Moses, by one Ezechiel, which are preserved amongst excerpts from Alexander Polyhistor by Eusebius in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*.[1] This work is certainly Hellenistic in point of time, but cannot be considered useful for our present object. Neither can one think of such a historical tragedy as being written in prose, especially in the *κοινή*; only a farce would be tolerable in that medium.

It would appear safer to accept the dialogue as a rather more ambitiously dramatic example of a contemporary type, and to look for parallels among the writers of Dialogue in Imperial times, such as Lucian and Philostratus. Some influence from the Roman *praetexta* may be allowed, especially in its later manifestations, such as the *Octavia*. A parallel is not infrequently adduced in the conversation between Antipater and the officer charged with hunting down Demosthenes, which occurs at the end of Lucian's *Demosthenis Encomium*. But the likeness is illusory; for that (like most others brought

Philoctetes paraphrase illustrates this kind of composition. The paraphrase of an epic 'Rape of Persephone' (*Berl. Klassikertexte*, v) is a bald and colourless production.

[1] ix. 28; see A. Kappelmacher in *Wiener Studien*, xliv. 69.

forward for the purpose) is a strictly 'static' dialogue, and shows no development of situation such as we have before us. The nearest illustration that we have,[1] though it is far from satisfactory, is possibly to be found in Philostratus' *Nero* (iii. 439);[2] this is a discussion of that emperor's proceedings in Greece by two characters, Menecrates and Musonius, which is interrupted by the arrival of a ship, crowned with garlands, bringing news of the tyrant's death. The dramatic framework, however, is of the very slightest, and amounts to no more than a conventional setting for the main theme.

A parallel to the Macedonian Dialogue has been seen by some commentators in the 'Trial of Demades', a papyrus from Abusir-el-Melek, the writing of which points to a date about the time of Augustus.[3] This is the longest, and in many ways the most remarkable of the dialogues so far brought to light by the papyri. The unpleasant, but entertaining character with whose fate it deals is sufficiently well known from literary sources.[4] Of openly pro-Macedonian sympathies (though always prepared to play a double game if his own interests could be furthered), he was a mediator on more than one occasion between Athens and the Northern power; his services were acknowledged by public honours. Himself a loose liver, and lacking the education and industry necessary for the production of finished literary work, he was fired with professional no less than political jealousy of his demesman Demosthenes;[5] and was, in fact, the mover of the decree for his condemnation (Plut. *vit. Dem.* 28). His fame rests chiefly upon his *mots*, which are not devoid of Attic salt; many are preserved by Plutarch and other authors, and per-

[1] v. W. Aly, *op. cit.*

[2] This work has been alternatively ascribed to Lucian. The so-called 'Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs' (v. Premerstein in *Philologus*, Suppl. XVI. ii) are also somewhat similar in form. See, for example, *Oxyrh. Pap.*, no. 33.

[3] *Berl. Pap.*, no. 13045; *Berl. Klassikertexte*, vii, p. 13 f.

[4] See references in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. Demades.

[5] Pytheas ap. Athen. ii. 44 E *ὁ μὲν ὑδροποτῶν καὶ μεριμνῶν τὰς νύκτας . . . ὁ δὲ πορνοβοσκῶν καὶ μεθυσκόμενος.* Diels (*Rhein. Mus.* xxix, p. 107 f.) quotes from a Viennese MS. collection of *Δημάδεια* a remark of D. to the effect that 'Demosthenes is like the swallows; he neither allows one to sleep nor wakes one up properly'.

haps more have been fathered upon him. The most picturesque of these is possibly his argument against the truth of a report of Alexander's death—'if he were really dead, the whole world would be stinking of his corpse';[1] the neatest, his reply to one who sympathized with him on a bad reception—'the public has its off-days'.[2] It is also interesting, in view of the subject of the previous dialogue, to note that he was a zealous advocate of the ascription of divine honours to Alexander.[3]

The circumstances leading up to the situation presupposed in the present dialogue are narrated, with some discrepancies, by Diodorus,[4] Plutarch,[5] and Photius.[6] Demades was sent on a special mission to Pella to negotiate with Antipater for the withdrawal of the Macedonian garrison from Munychia. This attempt might have prospered; but in the meanwhile a fatal act of treachery came to light in the shape of a letter from Demades to Perdiccas, discovered amongst the latter's papers after his death, in which he was invited to cross over to Europe and attack Antipater, and so to deliver the Greeks *ἀπὸ σαπροῦ καὶ παλαιοῦ στήμονος ἐξηρτημένους*. On the evidence of this, Demades was handed over to the executioner, either by Antipater or by his son Cassander.

The dialogue consists of a lively duel between Demades and his prosecutor, the Corinthian Dinarchus; the judges are apparently the members of an Athenian mission at the Macedonian court. (This is a detail not mentioned by other authorities.) The treasonable correspondence with Perdiccas seems to have consisted of more than one letter; these are produced in succession by Dinarchus, who states that they come from the *βασιλικὰ γράμματα* (l. 342). In the first Demades has attempted to dissuade Perdiccas from marrying

[1] Plut. *vit. Phoc.* 22.

[2] *ὥσπερ ἀγωνιστοῦ γενέσθαι δυσημερίαν οὕτω καὶ ἀκροατοῦ* (Diels, *op. cit.*). His reproof of a refractory audience is also noteworthy: *οὐκ ἐμὲ ἐκωλύσατε λέγειν ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀκούειν* (*ibid.*).

[3] Val. Max. vii. 2 E 13 'nolentibus Atheniensibus divinos honores Alexandro decernere, Videte, inquit, ne dum caelum custoditis terram amittatis' (Diels, *op. cit.*).

[4] xviii. 41 *init.*

[5] *vit. Dem.* 31; *vit. Phoc.* 30.

[6] Excerpt (Bekker, no. 92) from Arrian *περὶ τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*.

Nicaea, the daughter of Antipater, an alliance which is here said to have been arranged by Alexander.[1] Demades attempts to defend himself by stating that Antipater had by this time shown himself the enemy of Athens, and that her interests demanded that Perdiccas should be placed in a stronger position. The more definitely incriminating invitation to the latter to cross into Europe is then produced. Not content with laying open to the invader *ἡ κοινὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἑστία* (so the Corinthian flatters his Athenian hearers), this galley-slave has dared to stipulate that he himself shall be made tyrant in his native city.[2] There he proposes to strut about the market-place, *βαδίζων ὑψηλὰ καὶ δορυφορούμενος*. The jury must have pity on themselves and their country; in taking their just vengeance they need not fear any interference from the Macedonian authorities.

Demades remains unabashed throughout; he feels that he is being condemned *ἄκριτος*, before a biased court, *ὧν ὁ φόβος ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ψῆφον*. Instead of this wearisome farce, why could they not have had him quietly stabbed, at the cost of a few pence, on his journey from or to Attica?[3] For the prosecutor he has nothing but contempt and abuse: 'You are a cheap kind of tyrant, after the examples of Phalaris and Alexander'—'*I* impertinent to *you*? You are only Dinarchus, even if you arm yourself with the thunder of God.'[4] So he goes unrepentant to his death, together with his young son Demeas.

The style and language of the piece point to a fairly early date, possibly in the third, or even the late fourth century B. C.,

[1] (l. 192) *ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν κατενεγύησεν, Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ἀπέστειλε, Κάσσανδρος δ' ἤγαγε, Περδίκκας δὲ καλῶς ποιῶν ἔγημεν.*

[2] (l. 256) *προδίδωσι Περδίκκα τὴν Ἀττικήν, πόλεμον ἐπάγει ταῖς Ἀθήναις, αἴρει τὰς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὁμολογίας, αὑτὸν παρακαλεῖ ποιῆσαι τύραννον· εἶναι γάρ φησιν ἀπὸ τῶν Πισιστρατιδῶν ὁ κωπηλάτης. Δημάδους τῶν τροπωτήρων μώλωψ (?) βάσανος· τὰς χεῖρας, ἃς οἱ τύλοι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κώπης ὑπομιμήσκουσι μισθόν, ἐπὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μετάγειν ἐσπούδαζες.*

[3] (l. 359) *εἰ δὲ καὶ κρίσιν ἔδει καὶ λόγον καὶ τοσαύτην γενέσθαι πομπήν, ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐνθάδε πορευόμενον ἢ πάλιν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖ κομιζόμενον οὐδ' ἂν παυδοκεὺς ἢ τριωβελίειος στρατιώτης εὐκόπως τοῦ τυχόντος μισθοῦ χάριν ἐφόνευσεν;*

[4] (l. 118) *αἰσχρὸν γὰρ μετὰ τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον ἢ τὸν Φεραῖον ὀνομάζεσθαι Κορίνθιον Δίναρχον . . .* (l. 128) *παρρησιάζομαι πρὸς σέ; Δίναρχος εἶ, καὶ ἂν τὸν τοῦ Διὸς λάβῃς κεραυνόν.*

when the memory of these events would be comparatively fresh. It is therefore possible that it contains some elements of historical value. As has been pointed out by the editors, the Dinarchus whom we meet here, and who is also mentioned by Arrian as Demades' accuser, can now be identified as the favourite of Antipater, appointed by him governor of the Peloponnese, and subsequently put to death by Polyperchon.[1] He is to be distinguished from his famous namesake, who flourished later under Demetrius of Phalerum. A further point of interest occurs in the mention of the State-records of Macedonia, which are also referred to as a source by Lucian.[2] In the 'Macedonian Dialogue' (*v.s.*) an unfortunately mutilated passage seems to refer to a written correspondence of Olympias. It seems possible that such documents, or copies thereof, were accessible to the writer of this dialogue and to other authors, and that they provided valuable historical evidence.

§ 4

The last-mentioned dialogue may possibly be reckoned as a 'rhetorical exercise' of an unusually dramatic type; but before noticing some examples of the more conventional *μελέτη*, we may remark fragments of two technical treatises on the art of rhetoric.

The first and longer of these[3] consists of portions of the already extant *ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*, so called from a letter with which it is prefaced, and ascribed from the earliest times to Aristotle. The fragments cover considerable portions of the first three chapters of the work, but do not include any part of the introduction. After a general consideration of the nature of *τὸ δίκαιον*, *τὸ συμφέρον*, and *τὸ νόμιμον*, the author proceeds to particular precepts on the handling of various kinds of subject-matter, or *προθέσεις*. These (l. 105) are seven in number (*περὶ ἱερῶν ἢ νόμων ἢ περὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς κατασκευῆς κτέ.*), and may be dealt with either *ἐν βουλῇ* or *ἐν δήμῳ*. The form of the State may be either

[1] Suidas, s. v. *Δείναρχος*.
[2] *Dem. Encom.* 26 *Μακεδονικὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας ὑπομνήματα*.
[3] *Hibeh Pap.* I, no. 26.

a democracy or an oligarchy; the author's sympathies seem rather to incline to the latter.[1]

The supposed Aristotelian authorship of this work was first seriously contested by Spengel in 1840.[2] The claims of Anaximenes of Lampsacus,[3] upon which doubt had more recently been thrown, would seem to be supported in some degree by the present discovery; the papyrus comes from the wrappings of a mummy, and can be dated with a fair amount of certainty to the first half of the third century B. C. It is therefore likely that the original was a work of the fourth century. It does not, however, prove that the author preceded Aristotle; and it should be noted that the same mummy has yielded a fragment of a work (*Hibeh* 16) which is probably to be ascribed to Theophrastus. A more definite indication may be found in the fact that the complete treatise, which contains many historical allusions, does not mention any event later than the assistance given by the Corinthians to the Syracusans against the Carthaginians in 343 B. C. A date about 340 B. C. for the composition of the work would therefore not be unlikely. Further, Anaximenes is mentioned by Quintilian (iii. 4. 9), who ascribes to him a division of the art of oratory into three genera and seven species, which agrees almost word for word with a passage at the beginning of the *Ῥητορική*.[4] Dionysius of Halicarnassus[5] expresses an unfavourable opinion of Anaximenes as a writer, a verdict which seems to be borne out by the present treatise.

The fragments are interesting in themselves as supplying us with a very early text for comparison with the manuscript tradition. This text is found to lend a certain amount of support to the 'worse' as well as the 'better' group of

[1] (l. 137) *ὅπως οἱ μὲν νόμοι τὸ πλῆθος ἀποτρέψουσι τοῖς τὰς οὐσίας ἔχουσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς δὲ πλουτοῦσιν εἰς τὰς κοινὰς λειτουργίας δαπανᾶν.* (l. 151) *τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐ συκοφαντίας ἀλλ' ἐργασίας ἐπιθυμήσει.* (l. 166) *περὶ δὲ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας· τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς δεῖ τοὺς νόμους κατανέμειν ἐξ ἴσου πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας μετέχουσιν· τούτων δ' εἶναι τὰς πλείστας κληρωτάς, τὰς δὲ μεγίστας κρυφαίᾳ ψήφῳ μεθ' ὅρκων καὶ πλείστης ἀκριβείας διαψηφιστάς.*

[2] v. Grenfell and Hunt, *ad loc.* [3] See below, p. 119, n. 4.

[4] The Ῥητορική mentions only two genera, but it is sought (with some plausibility) to alter the text.

[5] *Isaeus* 19. He states that A. attempted but failed to deserve the epithet *τετράγωνος*, and characterizes him as *ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἀπίθανος*.

codices—though the balance inclines to the latter. It also confirms several of the conjectures of editors—notably Spengel. It is by no means free from the usual errors of copyists.[1]

The other fragmentary rhetorical treatise is notable as being written in Doric.[2] The writing belongs to the late second century A. D.; the dialect bears a close resemblance to that of the remains of Archytas of Tarentum, and of the *Ἠθικαὶ Διαλέξεις* of the Pythagorean school, which are thought to belong to the early fourth century B. C.[3] These latter works, however, are all concerned with moral philosophy; the present rhetorical manual, if it belongs to the same school, is so far unique; though it bears some resemblance to them in the large number of poetic quotations it contains, it should be remembered that these are for the most part introduced together in the same context with a particular technical object.

The fragment consists of practical hints to the speaker on the subject of language and deportment, with a view to winning the confidence of his audience and impressing them with one's own excellence of character. The first column concerns the exordium. The importance of modesty and unstudied diction in the opening attack is emphasized.[4] This will produce an impression of impartiality. By holding your forces in reserve you will further give an expression of *μεγαλοπρέπεια*. The subject of suitable quotations is next treated; the examples given are mostly from *Iliad*, Book ix, and hackneyed at that;[5] a final quotation from Sophocles is missing. Decorous language and avoidance of abuse will help you to sustain the character of *μεγαλοπρεπής*. Further, 'in all your narration you must have a good object and a good intent (*ὑποθέσιος χρηστᾶς καὶ διανοίας*)'. By blaming the wicked, you will win a reputation for goodness, for 'most men approve of their like'. A quotation from Euripides is introduced to

[1] v. Grenfell and Hunt, *ad loc.*

[2] *Oxyrh. Pap.*, no. 410.

[3] v. Mullach, *Fragg. Phil. Graec.* i, p. 544 ff.

[4] (l. 2) *αἴ κ' ἐν τᾷ λέξει τᾶ κατ' ἀρχὰς τᾶν ἐφόδων καὶ μὴ γεγραμμέναις δοκῇ χρῆσθαί τις ἀλλὰ ἰδιωτικαῖς, καὶ μηδὲν ὡς ἀκριβέως εἰδὼς ἀλλ' ὡς οἰόμενος καὶ ἀκακοώς κτέ.*

[5] e. g. *οὐδ' εἰ χρυσείη Ἀφροδίτη εἶδος ἐρίζοι* (Ι 389); *οὐ ἀνῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει* (Δ 443).

illustrate this point.[1] An affectation of forgetfulness will also be found advantageous.[2] And 'almost all irony is high-minded'.[3]

The papyri provide examples of the rhetorical exercise from the beginning of the Hellenistic period onward, though they naturally become more frequent in Roman Imperial times. They may be roughly divided into *μελέται* proper, or academic exercises dealing with historical or imaginary situations, and speeches which may actually have been delivered in court or on public occasions. The earliest example of the former is an exhortation to the Athenians to make war on some undefined occasion,[4] the provenance of which indicates that it belongs to the early third century B.C. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that it belongs to the period when such works first began to be produced, that is to say (according to Quintilian[5]) about the time of Demetrius of Phalerum. The correct, if colourless, language of the piece supports the conjecture. The occasion which the Athenians are urged to avail themselves of[6] may, as Blass suggests, be that arising from the death of Alexander; and the speaker into whose mouth the oration is put the Athenian general Leosthenes. A doubtful reference to Taenarum (l. 58), where Leosthenes is said to have collected mercenaries,[7] may be thought to lend support to this view. Apart from this, the piece consists chiefly of commonplaces.[8]

An example belonging to the third century B.C. is to be found in a portion of a 'protreptic' discourse on the subject of *φιλεταιρία*.[9] It is probably to be dated prior to 220 B.C.

[1] *Phoenix*, Fr. 803. 8, 9 *οὐ πώποτ' ἠρώτησα, γιγνώσκων ὅτι | τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷσπερ ἥδεται ξυνών.*

[2] (l. 115) *οἷον γὰρ μὴ ἐπιβεβωλευκῆμεν ἀλλ' αὐτοσχεδιάζεν τὸ ἐπιλελᾶσθαι.*

[3] (l. 121) *σχέδον δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ εἰρωνικὸν μεγαλοπρεπές.*

[4] *Hibeh Pap.* I, no. 15. Jander, *Oratt. et rhett. Graec. fragg. nuper reperta*, no. 42.

[5] *Inst. orat.* ii. 4. 41.

[6] (l. 42) *ὀξεῖς γὰρ εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν μεταβολῶν καιρούς· ὧν ἀντιλάβεσθε καὶ παύσασθε προσέχοντες τοῖς τὴν ῥᾳθυμίαν ἀσφάλειαν ἀποκαλοῦσιν.*

[7] Diod. xviii. 9.

[8] e.g. (l. 106) *ὡς ἀνάξιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐμ Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι κινδύνων διατελεῖν ὑμᾶς τὸ σύνολον ἀπογιγνώσκοντας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κτέ.*

[9] *Flinders Petrie Pap.*, no. 10 (ed. J. P. Mahaffy, *Cunningham Memoirs*, viii, p. 31); Jander, *op. cit.*, no. 39.

on account of documents found in company with it. The fragment is concerned with the familiar example of the devotion of Achilles to Patroclus.[1] The language is not without grace and rhythm; the studious avoidance of hiatus indicates that it is later than Isocrates.

Of equally early origin as the last, though of a somewhat different nature, is the fragment[2] of a 'Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi', printed in vol. v, p. 225, of the *Oxford Text of Homer* (ed. T. W. Allen), and evidently belonging to a source of the much later 'Certamen' which follows it there; ll. 75–100 of that work are practically a reproduction, on a slightly reduced scale, of the language of the fragment. To this has now to be added the recently discovered papyrus Michigan 2754,[3] which provides us with a similar source for the last ten lines of the *Certamen*—with the important addition of the subscription [Ἀλκι]δάμαντος περὶ Ὁμήρου. Alcidamas, the orator and writer of the fourth century B.C., who was a follower of Gorgias and opponent of Isocrates, had previously been considered a probable source; the author of the *Certamen* cites his authority for a fact concerning the death of Hesiod (l. 240), though not in a way which would suggest that Alcidamas is his chief source for the whole work. Stobaeus[4] also quotes two famous lines, put into the mouth of Homer[5] by the author of the *Certamen*, as coming from the Μουσεῖον of Alcidamas. The discovery of the Michigan fragment now seems to put it beyond doubt that the *Certamen* is based, at least in part, on a composition by Alcidamas, designed perhaps to serve the purpose of a rhetorical exercise. It cannot be said that the language of the two fragments bears out to any great extent Aristotle's imputation of ψυχρότης to Alci-

[1] Compare Plat. *Symp.* 179 E and elsewhere.

[2] *Flinders Petrie Pap.*, no. 25 (ed. Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, p. 70). See on the *Certamen* T. W. Allen, *Homer: the Origins and the Transmission*, pp. 20ff. See also J. U. Powell, pp. 37, 38 above.

[3] *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, lvi (1925), J. G. Winter. See Körte in Wilcken, *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, viii. 261.

[4] *Florilegium*, *s. c.*, ἔπαινος θανάτου, no. 3.

[5] Ἀρχὴν μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀίδαο περῆσαι (= *Certamen*, ll. 78–9).

damas[1]—the employment, that is, of a recondite and redundant vocabulary; but a somewhat feebly sententious epilogue, the text of which is both materially damaged and probably corrupted in transmission, has been judiciously omitted by the composer of the *Certamen*.

A papyrus of considerably later date—probably of the late first century B. C. or early first A. D.[2]—contains a portion of the reply of an Athenian orator to a threatening letter from some foreign potentate. Philip of Macedon naturally suggests himself as the sender (so the English editors). Certain indications, however, that the author of the letter is a young man, and that he has not previously fought against Athens,[3] have inclined some commentators to suppose that he is rather Alexander. The tone of the present composition, which is a vigorous call to arms, is certainly widely different from that of the Demosthenic[4] oration (xi) which deals with a similar situation in 346 B. C.; and the latter is better calculated as a reply to Philip's guarded and statesmanlike letter. It seems better, however, not to press for an exact historical setting for this kind of work; the instance of Philip would occur more readily to the mind of a composer. The language shows some departure from the classical Attic standard; it is mostly devoid of periods, being composed of short questions and clauses strung together with the minimum of connecting particles.[5]

[1] *Rhet.* 1406 A ff.

[2] *Oxyrh. Pap.*, no. 216; Jander, *op. cit.*, no. 43.

[3] (ii. 17) *ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις νικήσας νεανικεύεσθω.* But it might be said that A. had commanded the cavalry at Chaeronea; nor is the verb *νεανικεύεσθαι* (or *νεανιεύεσθαι*) to be so strictly limited.

[4] An important statement with regard to this speech is made in the fragment of a commentary on it by Didymus, published in Berlin Classical Texts, i (p. 51). In col. xi, l. 7, it is said that *ὑποτοπήσειε ἄν τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ συμπεφορῆσθαι τὸ λογίδιον ἔκ τινων Δημοσθένους πραγματειῶν ἐπισυντεθέν. καὶ εἰσὶν οἵ φασιν Ἀναξιμένους εἶναι τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ τὴν συμβουλήν, νῦν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ὀλίγου δεῖν γράμμασιν αὐτοῖς ἐντετάχθαι.* Anaximenes is quoted as an authority in three other passages in the same fragment. The suspicion arises that he may be the compiler of the 'fourth Philippic' as well. (He has already been noted as the probable author of the *Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*, see above, p. 115.)

[5] (ii. 1) *τίνα τῶν συμμάχων ἀπολωλέκαμεν; ποῦ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως πέπτωκεν; τίς αἰχμάλωτος ἡμῶν γέγονεν; . . .* (l. 11) *ὁμονοοῦμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς νόμοις ἐνμένομεν, καρτερεῖν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπιστάμεθα, τὴν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τάξιν οὐκ ἐνκαταλείπομεν.*

A long fragment of an oration against a naval commander,[1] belonging in point of writing to the first century A. D., is interesting both for its contents and as being one of the earlier papyrus discoveries (1861). It is probably a conventional treatment of the theme familiar from the trial of the commanders after the battle of Arginusae; here the conduct of only a single admiral is in question. He is accused of leaving the killed and wounded in the water after the victory had been won, and, apparently, of having previously notified his intention to his crews in a brutal order. The pathos of the situation is heightened by the picture of drowning men clinging to the oar-blades, and of the corpses of patriots whose only epitaph is that written by their commander, '*οὐ θάπτω*'.

The language and style of the piece is good, and shows acquaintance with Attic models, though the writer does not attempt to imitate any particular author; the vocabulary, however, shows signs of lateness.[2] It may accordingly be a production of the first or second century B. C.

Another, though considerably later, example of the nautical theme of which the rhetors appear to have been fond (witness their love of pirates) occurs in a complaint of Lysander's pilots on the score of insufficient rewards;[3] they contrast their own responsible position with that of the mere helmsman or master.[4]

The popularity of Demosthenes throughout our period and in that of the Roman rule in Egypt is attested by many papyri, which include not only numerous copies of his speeches, but commentaries upon them, such as that of Didymus (*v. s.*), and exercises in his style upon their subject-matter, or upon incidents in his career. There is, for instance, an early example[5] (probably of the third century B. C.) of an

[1] *Pap. Dugit* (ed. E. Egger, *Rev. archéol.*, N.S., III. iv, pp. 139–52); Jander, *op. cit.*, no. 41.

[2] e. g. *ἀσφαλισάντων* (l. 13); *ἀντιπαρέταττε* (l. 16); *μηδεμίαν* with the indicative (l. 22).

[3] *Pap. Soc. Ital.*, no. 128.

[4] (l. 25) *ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης σεμνοήθης τὸ νεῦμα σύντονον ὑποσημαίνων . . . εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ ναύκληροι . . .*

[5] *Berl. Pap.*, *P.* 9781 (*B.K.T.*, vii, p. 4 ff.); A. Körte, *Archiv f. Pap.* vii. 227.

attempted reply to his speech against Leptines' proposed abolition of the grant of *ἀτέλεια*.[1] The portion preserved consists of a defence, put into the mouth of the respondent-in-chief, of the four *σύνδικοι* who are attacked by Demosthenes at the end of his speech (or. xx, § 146 *ad fin.*). Demosthenes' points are taken up and replied to in order, and his words are often echoed. The composition is good and does not give the effect of a mere patchwork. The Attic is generally blameless, save that the writer is twice betrayed by the late verb *κατισχύω*. As we possess the end of the roll, which has no *subscriptio*, the piece is certainly a *μελέτη*.

Exercises in defence or criticism of Demosthenes are provided by *Oxyrh. Pap.*, nos. 1799 and 858,[2] both of late date (second or third century A. D.). The former of these, which is carelessly written, appears to be a vindication of Demosthenes' policy in the period following the battle of Chaeronea.[3] In the other, he is unfavourably contrasted with some other orator, who not only exhorted the Athenians to go to Thebes, but went to the front himself.[4] The author continues to hold Demosthenes up to scorn as a mere wind-bag, by quoting from the famous passage in the *De Corona* (§ 169) about the effect of the news from Elatea. 'Though he had never heard the sound of a trumpet himself, he attempted to terrify you by this description.' The piece illustrates the entire disregard which composers of *μελέται* are apt to show for history and tradition; Demosthenes took part in the battle of Chaeronea (338 B. C.); the *De Corona* was delivered after 330.

Practical instruction for the advocate is given in the *Δίκη κλοπῆς*,[5] in a papyrus of the first century A. D. This bears the marks of having been taken down verbatim from the instructor;

[1] The same subject is treated in two speeches ascribed to Aelius Aristides (orr. 53, 54, Dind.).

[2] Jander, *op. cit.*, no. 45.

[3] (ii. 14) *τὰ μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντα ἀληθῆ καὶ συμφέροντα διὰ τέλους φαίνεται τῇ πόλει· κἂν εἰ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῷ μόνῳ προσέσχομεν, πάντ' ἂν ἐσώζετο· εἰ δ' ἀνατετροφότες ἅπαντα καὶ λελυμασμένοι ἦτε, ἀναίτιος οὑτοσί.*

[4] (l. 18) *ἔστω δημηγόρος καὶ στρατηγὸς ὁ αὐτός, καὶ Δημοσθένης ἀσπίδα καὶ ψήφισμα ἔχων ἀγορευέτω.* (l. 23) *Δημοσθένει δὲ πῶς πείσομαι, ᾧ γε οὐ θώραξ, οὐ δόρυ, οὐ ξίφος, οὐδὲ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρός.*

[5] *Brit. Mus. Pap.*, no. 256 (ed. Kenyon); Jander, *op. cit.*, no. 40.

it is sometimes in the form of question and answer between the parties, at others of exposition by the teacher. No proper names occur; it is prefaced with a short statement of the case to be discussed. This is the familiar theme of the deposit; a man has buried a talent in a friend's garden with his consent; subsequently he comes by night and removes it without the other's knowledge. Is he guilty of theft? The problem is complicated by the fact that there are no witnesses.

This papyrus consists apparently of three parts:

(i) two fragmentary columns dealing with a question of legitimacy (*γραφὴ ξενίας*);

(ii) a *δίκη κλοπῆς* (see F. G. Kenyon in *Mélanges Henri Weil* (1898), pp. 243–8; Crönert, *Arch. f. Pap.* i. 117), mentioned above;

(iii) the beginning of a piece which appears to be on the same subject as the first. The motive may here be a claim for support, on behalf of the child whose legitimacy is in question (col. iv, ll. 35–7 *τὸν παῖδα τρέφειν ἐπάναγκες τὸν γεγεννηκότα*).

The fragment is valuable as an example of this kind of composition in the first century. The style is simple and unadorned; hiatus is avoided.

Instances of speeches which may have been actually delivered in court occur in that against a certain Maximus, chiefly dealing with a charge of immorality (*Oxyrh. Pap.*, no. 471), and in the defence of a woman against accusations of poisoning and fraud (*Oxyrh. Pap.*, no. 472; no. 486 also is connected with the case); both these belong to the second century A. D. The former of these is interesting as being possibly a genuine indictment of a Roman prefect of Egypt, though there is no other evidence to support the claims of the only known prefect of that name (Vibius Maximus, A. D. 103–7). The presiding authority, who is addressed as *κύριε*, may be the reigning emperor.

The Encomium is not so common as might have been expected in Ptolemaic times. In conclusion, however, may be noticed a fragment of this kind of composition which is written on the first part of the papyrus containing the dialogue

on Demades.[1] After reviewing various types of constitution the author proceeds to the praises of Egypt in general, and of the reigning Ptolemy in particular. In terms which recall those of Theocritus, the ruler is praised for his generosity and his prowess in arms;[2] the position of Alexandria, the 'world-city', is characterized in a phrase not unlike that used by Marcus Aurelius to describe the Stoic Cosmopolis.[3]

Addendum.

The appearance of the *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum* provides an interesting example (B. M. Pap. 2239; no. 193) of the Diatribe or lecture. The fragments, probably dating from the second century A.D., are described as *διαλέξεις σοφιστικαί*; according to Crönert the author is an Attizicing sophist. The handwriting is poor, and the decipherable portion is full of mistakes such as might be made in dictation. The scribe does not write iota adscript or subscript.

The papyrus contains portions of two compositions. The first is concerned with the praises of *αἰδώς*, 'a goddess who dwells in man's most conspicuous organ—his eye' (i, ll. 4–7). The argument is reinforced by quotations from Homer (*Od.* vi. 221, 222) and Hesiod (*τὸν Ἀσκραῖον [τρο]φὸν τὸν Ἑλικώνιον πο[ιμέ]να ἐᾶν μετὰ φρονήσ[εως δά]φνην ἠχοὶ Μουσῶν ⟨ποικίλην⟩ καταλέξαι βούλομαι· αἰδὼς ἥ τ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται κτέ.* = *Op. et Di.* 316).

The second portion is concerned with the description of a bird, which it is suggested may be the Phoenix. The language of the piece (ll. 56, 61 *σχῆμα*; l. 74 *ἔοικεν*; piscatorial details) recalls that of the *Εἰκόνες* of the Philostrati and of the *Ἐκφράσεις* of Callistratus; compare, for a picture of ducks,

[1] *v. s.*, p. 111.

[2] (l. 34) *πολιτικὴν ἀπάντησιν τηρεῖ, χαιρεῖ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, καλοῖς ὑπερτίθεται τὰ καλά, μάχεται τοῖς πολεμίοις ἕως τοῦ νικῆσαι . . . ἀθανάτους ποιεῖ τὰς τῶν ἀθανάτων τιμάς.*

[3] (l. 25) *ἀθρεῖς τὴν ἐπῳκισμένην ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Νείλου πέρασιν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχουσαν τὰ καλά· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πόλεις τῆς ὑποκειμένης χώρας πόλεις εἰσίν, Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲ κῶμαι· τῆς γὰρ οἰκουμένης Ἀλεξάνδρεια πόλις ἐστίν.* Cf. Marc. Aur. (iii. 11) *πολίτην ὄντα πόλεως τῆς ἀνωτάτης, ἧς αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ὥσπερ οἰκίαι εἰσίν.*

geese, &c.,[1] the *Ἔλος* of Philostratus Lemnius. The papyrus alludes to the clearness, persistency and auspicious character of the bird's note; to its fine feathers, important strut, and fighting propensities.[2] It would be difficult to find these characteristics so well united in any bird as they are in the barn-door cock. See Aristophanes, *Av.* ll. 275, 486, 835, and (for ll. 63 sqq.) 1332; Cratinus, *Horae* frag. (*ὥραν πᾶσαν καναχῶν ὀλόφωνος ἀλέκτωρ*); Pliny, *N. H.* x. 21; Cicero, *de Div.* i. 34. 74, &c. The brilliant and glossy plumage of the cock[3], which is emphasized appropriately enough in an *εἰκών*, is naturally less prominent in Comedy; though see the context of *Birds* l. 275.

W. M. E.

[1] Including a pair of phoenixes.

[2] (ll.) *ποικίλην πτέρωσιν*, (71) [δι]*άφο*[ρ]*ον* (? *διάτορον*) *τὸ ᾆσμα*, (73) *εὔφημον*, (74) *τὸ ᾆσμα αἰώνιον ἢ παραπλήσιον ἔχειν* [τ]*ῷ* κ[ο]*σμῷ*, (84) *πρόεισιν δὲ* [*ὥσ*]*πε*[ρ] . . . *πλούσιος ἄ*[*γαν*], . . . (90) *φιλόνι*[κ]*ος*.

[3] (ll. 77 sqq.) *χρυσαυγές* [π]*ου καὶ ἀερῶδες κατὰ τὴν πτέρωσιν ὑπάρχει* [γά]*νος προσεοικὸς θα*[λάσ]*ῃ*.

III

LETTER WRITING

THE ZENON PAPYRI

PAPYRI are generally classed as literary and non-literary, and it is to the second and humbler category that the Zenon papyri belong. They are merely a collection of private and business letters, accounts, contracts, and other such documents, all of which have been written with a strictly practical aim. But they are always interesting and often readable; they present a vivid picture of the life of their time; and they are exceptionally good specimens of the Greek that was used in ordinary intercourse in the Alexandrian age. A survey of Greek literature may therefore condescend to take note of them, non-literary though they undoubtedly are in the sense that they were not written to be read by a public.

Zenon, by whose name they are called, and to whom most of them are addressed, was a Carian Greek otherwise unknown to history. He came to Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy II and lived there till at least well into the reign of Ptolemy III. He had the good fortune to find service under a minister who, next to the king, was the most influential man in the country, Apollonius the dioecetes. Our first records of Zenon date from about 260 B.C., when we find him travelling between Egypt and the Egyptian province of Syria, engaged, as far as we can judge, not in political but in commercial business. In another year or two he has become more closely attached to the person of the dioecetes; he appears now as the confidential secretary who handled his master's correspondence, to whom all suitors had to apply for an audience, and who alone could seize the favourable moment for presenting them (*ὡς ἂν εὐκαιροῦντα λάβῃς Ἀπολλώνιον*). It was the custom of Apollonius to make long tours of inspection up the Nile, travelling in state in his own flotilla, with his private physician, a crowd of secretaries and servants, and occasionally (being

a statesman who paid great respect to religion) one or two priests. He was accompanied of course by Zenon, and to this fact we owe the preservation of several most illuminating letters addressed to the dioecetes. These tours lasted for months, till sometimes the king grew impatient and summoned his minister back to Alexandria. From the royal bounty Apollonius had received at least two estates ἐν δωρεᾷ, one at Memphis, and one in the Fayum beside the newly founded town of Philadelphia. The development of this latter estate was, it is easy to see, his most cherished interest for many years. To adorn the town with temples, to stud the landscape with orchards and olive-groves, to introduce the best breeds of farmstock from abroad—these were his aims and these are the constant themes of his correspondence. In pursuance of this plan he ordered or allowed his favourite employee to leave his household and settle down at Philadelphia as his immediate representative. It was in the spring of 256 B.C. that Zenon migrated to the Fayum, and from that moment the character of the correspondence changes. He is now immersed in questions of farming, irrigation, building, and village industries; he has to deal with all sorts of complaints and petitions from peasants, potters, weavers, native swine-herds, and Arab shepherds; he is in constant communication with the provincial authorities; and only occasionally do we get a scrap of news from Alexandria and from the world beyond. During the early years of his residence at Philadelphia every post brought him a packet of instructions from Apollonius about the management of the estate. But these letters become less frequent, and before the end of the old king's reign they cease altogether, though we know that Apollonius was still in office. Zenon, during all this time, if careful of his master's interests, was not neglectful of his own. He had his private vineyards, he leased and cultivated large tracts of the lands partitioned among the military settlers, he owned or exploited baths, lent money, and was altogether a prosperous and notable man. Thus it came about that when Apollonius finally disappeared from the scene, perhaps from this world, after the accession of the new king, Zenon continued to reside

at Philadelphia, industrious as ever, though now only a private sojourner (*παρεπίδημος*). And after his death or departure the papers which he had accumulated in the course of more than twenty years lay buried for as many centuries in the ruins of his house, until the fellahin, digging for manure to spread on the land which once belonged to Apollonius, brought them again to light.

This brief survey of Zenon's career will give an idea of the nature of the papers which he filed and left behind him. When a friend in an outlying station asks for some *βυβλία* to while away the time, since he has even no one to talk to (*ὅπως ἂν ἔχωμεν διατριβήν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧι λαλή[σωμεν ἔχο]μεν*), the context shows that he does not mean books to read, but accounts to revise. Alexandria was then the centre of Greek culture and Zenon had many correspondents there; in none of their letters is there a word about art, literature, or science. This must not be taken to mean that Zenon and his friends were uneducated or that there were no books in Philadelphia; no doubt there were books, but naturally they would not be stored among business papers. But owing to the varied character of his career and his close connexion with the dioecetes, we do occasionally get a glimpse into political history. An allusion to Antipater the Etesian[1] shows that twenty years after his inglorious reign this ephemeral king of Macedonia was still living under his old nickname as a refugee at the Egyptian court. From two incidental passages we learn the date and some of the circumstances of Berenice's fateful marriage to Antiochus of Syria. A contract and a couple of letters have restored to Palestinian history the figure of the Ammonite Tobias, a prominent member of a famous family, ruling Transjordania under the watchful suzerainty of

[1] *Ἀντίπατρον τὸν Ἐτησίαν.* P. Cair. Zen. 59019, 6 = C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, vol. i. Cf. Porphyry, ap. Euseb. *Chron.* i, p. 236. Schoene: *καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Μακέδονες Ἐτησίαν ἐκάλεσαν, ὅτι χρόνῳ τοσῷδε οἱ Ἐτησίαι πνέουσι*: Wilcken, *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, vii, p. 293. He reigned for forty-five days. Mr. Tarn's felicitous translation is 'King of the Dog-days' (*Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 147). 'Annuum' and 'Jährling', which are renderings of the Armenian, show either that the maker of that version had *ἐτήσιον* before him, or, more probably, that he rendered *ἐτησίαν* wrongly.

the Egyptian king. Much more clearly than before we now see how strictly the quasi-independent cities in the Ptolemaic Empire were controlled by the central government; how they paid homage to the king with religious embassies (*θεωρίαι*) and gifts of money (*στέφανοι* is the word used here), and were perhaps subject to the burden of trierarchy; how even in their domestic affairs a word from the dioecetes could extinguish the chances of a candidate for office and sway the decisions of *ἐκκλησία* and *βουλή*. Occasionally we catch sight of the king himself, travelling through the land with an extortionate retinue, inquiring into scandalous reports about a gymnasium, or interesting himself in agricultural experiments. But the dominant figure in the correspondence is that of Apollonius the all-powerful minister, courted and feared both at home and abroad, adding to his official duties the private and profitable cares of a merchant and landlord, now dispatched by the king on a mission of state, and now dictating precise directions about the disposal of his wool or the re-stocking of his vineyards.

If our papyri make but a small, though welcome, contribution to the political history of Egypt, as a source of information about economics they are full to overflowing. On such subjects as internal administration, taxes, money, wages, and prices, land development and industry, they are documents of the first importance. They help to settle some problems and they raise many more. They form a quite embarrassing addition to the mass of material already accumulated from former finds, and they will give employment to the specialist in this field for another generation. But in one respect the new papyri stand apart from those already known: they give us a picture of trade not only in the interior of Egypt but between Egypt and the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean; they describe the cargoes that entered the ports of Alexandria and Pelusium; and they reveal, for the first time, a considerable part of the heavy Egyptian tariff on imported goods. Another document of great and novel interest is a long letter from the head of the Alexandrian mint about the difficulties in the way of obtaining gold for the new issue of octadrachms

and tetradrachms which was replacing the old issue of pentadrachms or τρίχρυσα (*trinummi*), while a banking account shows what at this period was the exact ratio between the value of gold and that of silver. In the sphere of law and legal procedure we find an early affirmation of the principle that interest on a loan could not accumulate beyond the amount of the loan, and some letters of Apollonius throw an unexpected light on the functions of the χρηματισταί or assize judges.

But it is above all as a panorama of everyday life in Ptolemaic Egypt that the Zenon papyri appeal to us. Men and women of the most diverse races pass across the stage—Greeks from east and west, Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Cilicians and Cappadocians, Arabs and Jews. Many of them are disguised under Greek or Egyptian names, but there is little doubt about the nationality of *Ismaelos* the farmer, or *Somoelis* (a transliteration of Samuel) the granary-guard. Apollonius is asked to provide myrrh for the burial of the sacred cow in whom the goddess Hathor was periodically incarnated; the Egypto-Phoenician priests of Astarte demand sesame oil and castor oil at the reduced price at which they were furnished to other temples; and libations are poured to the Samothracian Cabiri in their shrine at Philadelphia. We catch a glimpse of Apollonius himself starting by lantern light on a winter morning to visit the great Serapeum beyond Memphis. When Dromon suffers from ophthalmia, he consults, not the physician for whose maintenance he no doubt paid the fee (ἰατρικόν), but the god himself, who straightway orders him to smear his eyes with Attic honey. Government offices are closed during the great festival of Isis; but if the Greek clerks get a holiday, the baker and his female slaves work till late at night grinding corn and baking cakes. It would task an Athenaeus to comment on the provisions dispatched from Alexandria for Apollonius' dinner-table or brought to Pelusium in his merchantmen (κυβαῖαι)—wine from Chios and Sicily, Chalybonian honey, boar's flesh and venison, cheeses from Cythnos, salt fish and caviare from Byzantium. Zenon's travelling wardrobe is described in full; Cleon begs him to send a couple of soft breast-bands (στηθοδέσμια) for his wife;

and Paramonus orders (*εὔωνοι γάρ εἰσιν ἐμ Μέμφει*) a dozen strigils of Sicyonian make. We have an estimate from a painter for the decoration of a new house, and, what at this period is more curious, a design for a mosaic floor in the women's bath-room. Pigs tread the corn (vindicating Herodotus),[1] and young porkers are snatched up by crocodiles. A chance phrase in a boat-builder's memorandum, *ἵνα* [*μὴ ὑπὸ*] *κορκοδίλου ἁλῶι ναύτης*, shows that men as well as pigs had to beware of the river bank. The camel makes his first appearance in Egypt as a beast of burden on the farm, not merely as a passing visitor from the east. The Keepers of the Cats (*αἰλουροβοσκοί*) complain of being impressed for harder labours than that of feeding the sacred cats, while the Bee-masters (*μελισσουργοί*) beg Zenon to release their donkeys in order that they may bring back their hives from the bee-pastures before the fields are flooded. Dip into the letters at random, and you are sure to strike some picturesque figure or name or episode. Apart from historical personages such as Glaucon the brother of Chremonides and Bilistiche the royal mistress, we make acquaintance with the king's seneschal (*ἐδέατρος*), with Idumean slave-dealers, Zoilus the devotee of Serapis and Artemidorus the encaustic painter, with Ptolemaeus the gymnasium-master and Apollonius the horse-breaker (*πωλοδαμαστής*). Women as well as men are among Zenon's correspondents. Satyra the harp-player writes from Alexandria and reproaches him for failing to send her a dress allowance. Asclepias asks for an *ἐφόδιον* to enable her to join her husband up the river, *ὅπως ἂν ἀνακομισθῶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ δοκῆι με αὐτοῦ καταρραθυμεῖν*. And here, to conclude, is a sketch of an indelicate visitor drawn by a certain Criton:

'Nay more, while I was asleep in the field, he drove the sow by night out of the yard while she was with young, and called my wife out, threatening to hough the sow; and challenged me to come out myself, supposing me to be sleeping indoors. When I arrived from the field, my wife told me all that had happened. I told no one anything of this, waiting until the

[1] Hdt. ii. 14.

days which he demanded for his business should have passed; but I no longer brought the sow into the yard.'

'Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοῦ ἐν ἀγρῶι καθεύδοντος τ[ήν τε] ὗν νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐξέβαλλε ἐπίτοκον οὖσαν, καὶ τὴγ γυναῖκά μου ἐξεκαλεῖτο φ[άμενο]ς νευροκοπήσειν, καὶ ἐμὲ προεκαλεῖτο οἰόμενος εἴσω με καθεύδειν. παραγενομένου [δέ μου] ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπήγγελλέ μοι ἡ γυνὴ τὰ γενόμενα πάντα. ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων οὐθενὶ οὐθὲν [ἐδή]λωσα ἕως ἂν αἱ ἡμέραι ἃς ἠτήσατο παρέλθωσιν, τὴν δὲ ὗν οὐκέτι εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν α[ὐλήν].'

As regards the language of the letters, most of them are written in good, plain Greek of the *Κοινή*. I avoid calling it colloquial Greek, for the written word always tends to be a little more artificial than the spoken; but it very frequently shades into the colloquial. Thus a more precise scribe than Dionysius would probably not have written *ἐμβέβλημαι Κρίτωνι*, but *ἐμβέβλημαι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον Κρίτωνος*. If there are traces of various dialects, they are quite insufficient to determine the birthplace of the writers. The forms *πράττειν* and *ἐλάττων* are evidence of Attic influence, but not of Attic origin; and all we can say of a man who signs himself *Θεύδωρος* is that he is more likely to come from the east than from the west side of the Aegean. The reader must not expect to find in those texts any charm of style or any literary quality except simplicity and directness. They are essentially business letters, adhering to a formal type and, like our own business letters, cast in a mould of stereotyped phrases (*καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαις φροντίσας, δέομαι οὖν σου καὶ ἱκετεύω*, κτλ.). In place of the hackneyed *εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ τὰ λοιπά σοι κατὰ γνώμην ἐστίν, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι*, Philoxenus ventures to substitute *εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ οἶνον πολὺν ποεῖς*; but familiarities of this sort are rare. Many of the writers cannot be distinguished from one another except by the matter of their communications. Apollonius' letters are indeed unmistakable owing to the note of command which runs through them, and one may be quoted here to show the manner in which this exalted but very practical personage wrote to his country agent:

Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. τῶν στροβίλων φύτευσον δι' ὅλου τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ περὶ τὸν ἀμπελῶνα καὶ τοὺς ἐλαιῶνας, καὶ

ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν πλείονα φυτά, εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ ἐλάσσω τῶν τριακοσίων καταφυτεύσεις. ἀξιόλογον γὰρ ὄψιν παρέχεται τὸ δένδρος καὶ εἰς τὴν χρείαν ὑπάρξει τῶι βασιλεῖ. ἔρρωσο.[1]

There is character too in some of the letters of Amyntas and Artemidorus the physician. Hierocles affects a rather more flowery style, as when he writes: περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ με ἐπίστασθαι οἱ θεοὶ μάλιστ' ἂν εἰδέησαν, Πτολεμαίωι δὲ φαίνεται, ὅσα κατ' ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι . . .[2] or λοιπὸν τὸ τόξον ἐπ' ἐμὲ τείνεται:[3] but this is less effective than the free and easy speech of Amyntas, καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἐπισκεψάμενος μετ' Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ ἰατροῦ εἰ φαίνεται ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῶι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον ἢ ἐᾶν οἰμώζειν.[4] Some of the more intimate letters are genuinely affectionate and warn us against supposing that Zenon and his friends could think and talk of nothing but money and corn; but in general, owing to the character of the correspondence, there is little manifestation of human emotion except in the form of complaints and appeals to pity. Thus Pathrophis pleads with Zenon to let his wife out of gaol,

ὅπως μὴ συμβῆι αὐτῆι παραπολέσθαι ἐν τῶι δεσμωτηρίωι ἀθύμως διακειμένηι ἐπὶ τοῖς παιδίοις . . . ὥσπερ οὖν διατελεῖς πάντας σώιζων καὶ οὐθεὶς διὰ σοῦ οὐθὲν πέποσχεν ἄτοπον, καὶ ἐμὲ δεόμενόν σου ἐλέησον.[5]

Complaints about a third party are common enough, but it is refreshing to find Hippocrates turning on his enemy (not Zenon) and telling him plainly what he thinks of him:

ἐμὲ δέ, ἐάμπερ δύνηι, καὶ ὕβριζε καὶ ἄπαγε· πειράσομαι γὰρ ἐμαυτῶ[ι βοηθεῖν]· πλὴν γνώριζε ἄτοπος ὤν, καὶ ὅσωι ἂν τίς σου ἐπιμέληται . . ., τοσούτωι μᾶλλον ἐπεμβαίνεις. καὶ τοῦτο

[1] 'Plant fir-cones throughout the fruit garden and about the vineyard and the olive-yards, and be careful to plant more than the three hundred, if possible, and if not, not less, since the tree gives a distinguished appearance, and will be serviceable to the King. Farewell.'

[2] 'However, with regard to my knowledge, Heaven would know best; but it appears to Ptolemy, so far as man can say, that . . .'

[3] 'He is, however, having a shot at me.'

[4] 'You will oblige me then by taking counsel with Artemidorus the physician whether you think it best to deliver the letter to him, or to let it go hang.'

[5] 'That a further result may not be that she perish in gaol through being despondent about the children. So since you are every one's protector, and no one has received any hard treatment from you, take pity also upon me your petitioner.'

οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνον λέγω ἀλ[λὰ πάντες] οἱ ἐν τῇι πόλει· οὕτω πασίφιλος εἶ.[1]

As a contrast to this outburst, let us end with an example of incidental, but delicate courtesy:

ἔγραψας ἡμεῖν, ἐὰν εὐκαιρῶμεν, ἀποστεῖλαί σοι τὸ πλοάριον. τὸ μὲν οὖν μὴ εὐκαιρεῖν σοι οὐχ ἡμέτερόν ἐστιν, ἐτύγχανεν δὲ τὸ πλοάριον ἀναπεπλευκός . . .[2]

Not all the letters are written in as good Greek as those just cited usually contain. Zenon's correspondents belonged to many classes, from the highest officials down to quarrymen and swineherds, who could not always command the services of a good scribe. But in fact his illiterate correspondents often write a very entertaining letter, such as Heraclides the Palestinian carrier (*συνωριστής*) discoursing on the practices of two dishonest and amorous slave-traders, or the groom who recounts his adventures in pursuit of a runaway filly in the Memphite nome. As an example of the Greek in which such people communicated their troubles to Zenon, I quote a short passage (resolving the symbols) from the report of a boat-captain, who tells us in another place that he had paid half an obol for having the letter written (*εἰς χιρογραφίαν ἐπιστολῆς*); he ends his story as follows:

ἑτέρας δραχμὰς β, τριώβολον ἔλαβον ἐν τοῖς γείνεταί σοι, καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δραχμὰς β, τριώβολον· ἔθηκα εἰς ἀνήλωμα τοῦ πλοίου. ὅτι οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἀποίχοντο, ἔδωκα τῶι μετ' ἐμοῦ νῦν δραχμὰς β, ἵνα μὴ καταλιφθῆ τὸ πλοῖον. ἔλαβον τὸ ἱστίον ἄνω ἀνακρύψαι αὐτό· εὕροσάμ με οἱ ῥαβδοφόροι· ἔδωκα αὐτοῖς δραχμὴν α. γείνονται δραχμαὶ γ, λοιπαὶ δραχμαὶ β.[3]

[1] 'As for me, outrage and arrest me, if you can, since I shall try to help myself; but let me tell you, you are monstrous. And the more consideration a man shows you, the more aggressive you become. And it is not only I who say this, but all who are in the city, such a favourite are you!'

[2] 'You wrote to us to send you the boat, if we had a favourable opportunity; however, let it not be said of us that we had not the favourable opportunity of serving you. The boat happened to have sailed up-stream.' The Italian editors print *ἔστῳ*, and Wilcken conjectures *ἐστίν* or *ἔσται*, but Vitelli finds after re-examination that the papyrus has *ἐστίν*.

[3] 'I took two and a half drachmas more from the amount due to you, and I took two and a half drachmas from my own share; I put the total aside for expenditure on the boat. Because the men with me had gone off, I gave the man who is with me now two drachmas, in order that the

The report is written in a good hand, and it is the general construction rather than the vocabulary that betrays an imperfect command of Greek. In such cases it is often difficult to say whether the scribe wrote to dictation or translated literally from the Egyptian, but the result, however attained, is just like the speech of a half-educated dragoman.

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The quotations and illustrations in this article are drawn partly from unpublished material accessible to the writer, but chiefly from the following sources: *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri*, vols. iv–vii; *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, vols. xviii–xxiv; *Catalogue général du Musée du Caire*, *Zenon Papyri*, vol. i. Isolated texts have also appeared in various other publications and periodicals, which it is unnecessary to specify. It should be borne in mind that half, or more, of the material, which is now dispersed over Europe, America, and Egypt, remains to be published, and no doubt some surprises are still in store for us. Thus any account of Zenon and his archives must for the present be more or less vague and provisional.

C. C. E.

LETTERS OF PRIVATE PERSONS

Of the thousands of papyri rescued from the rubbish-heaps of Ancient Egypt, a great many are private letters, written by ordinary people upon ordinary occasions, with no aim at literary style and no desire for posthumous renown. They served their purpose and were thrown aside; or perhaps, since papyrus was expensive, their blank spaces were used for another communication; or the schoolboy son of the house was permitted to cover the margins with lists of proper names in alphabetical order, or of verbs governing the dative. Eventually they found their way to the village refuse-heap, where they were preserved for two thousand years by a climate to which rain is unknown; to be discovered at last, to be deciphered and edited with almost miraculous diligence, and

boat might not be left to itself. I took the sail up the bank to hide it: the constables found me; I gave them one drachma. That makes three drachmas; there remain two drachmas.'

to greet a new race of readers with a startling and wistful freshness, like the scribblings of children, long dead, on the walls of a nursery in buried Herculaneum.

Two small collections of the most interesting and intelligible of these documents have been made by Dr. Milligan and Witkowski.[1] Each contains some fifty papyri, but while Witkowski confines himself to private letters, Dr. Milligan includes a number of census returns, marriage contracts, certificates of sacrifice, magical formulae, and the like. The dates of the letters in Witkowski's collection are spread over the last three centuries before Christ. Dr. Milligan adds some written in the Christian era. There is also a third easily accessible collection, edited by Olsson,[2] of eighty letters dated from 29 B.C. to A.D. 100, which for ordinary purposes will supplement the other two.

The originals all come from Egypt, with one exception,[3] which was written by the philosopher Epicurus to a small friend, and was discovered at Herculaneum. In most cases the text is fairly well preserved, though there are often opportunities for haphazard emendations by such as are amused by them. And though in one case[4] Witkowski, a genuine lover of learning's crumbs, has included a letter of which neither the author, nor the recipient, nor the subject-matter, nor the greater part of the actual words can be ascertained, these collections well fulfil their tasks of providing an interesting line of approach to the student who has not trod the ground before.

At first the quantity of material, as well as the significance of some of its items, causes a feeling of bewilderment. Thousands of letters must have been brought to light no better and no worse than this.[5] 'Cleon to Paeon, greeting. Send me the donkey, for we need her to get the hay in as soon as we can, since I am going away. Good-bye.' Faced with this mass of trivialities, editors and commentators have

[1] *Greek Papyri*[3], ed. George Milligan, Camb. Univ. Press, 1910; *Epistulae Privatae Graecae*, ed. Stanilaus Witkowski, Teubner, 1907.
[2] *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit.* Upsala, 1925.
[3] *ex. vol. Hercul.*, 176; Milligan, 2; *Epicurus*, Bailey, p. 129.
[4] *P. Leid.* K.; Witkowski, 53.
[5] P. Flinders Petrie, ii. 426; Witkowski, 9.

sometimes lost their way, and spent a vast deal of pains in methods unworthy of pure scholarship.[1] Thus it is not easy to see what useful purpose is served by analysing the introductory formulae of the letters, and tabulating them according as the first words are 'A to B χαίρειν' or more effusively 'A to B πλεῖστα χαίρειν', or laconically 'A to B'. Nor would it seem a matter of much consequence that the ending is sometimes ἔρρωσο, and sometimes ἔρρωσθε, even when a single person is addressed. It is as though some scholar of future ages should rake over our own waste-paper baskets and discover stringent rules, of which we are gloriously unconscious, which lead us to write sometimes 'Yours faithfully' and sometimes 'Faithfully yours'. Again, the use of the cross-reference as a means of elucidation can become insufferably wearisome. But scholars are also working along lines of exploration which will produce worthy discoveries; and some of these may be indicated.

As was said, these letters hardly ever make any pretence to literary style. They were written by casual people, farmers, merchants, soldiers, schoolboys. Some of them procured the services of professional ἐπιστολογράφοι, and those who could write for themselves usually resort to the ordinary devices of the unpractised, the introductory platitudes and the huddle of irrelevancies which postpone the conventional ending. Occasionally the result is surprisingly illiterate:[2] for instance, one finds αἰμοῦ λαιγούσας for ἐμοῦ λεγούσης, χαταβένω for καταβαίνω, and so forth. Possibly these mis-spellings may eventually throw some light upon the vexed question of the pronunciation of Greek, although the extent of the confusion of vowel-sounds[3] makes it very difficult to believe that the mistakes represent honest if misguided attempts to spell phonetically. Some of them, at any rate, must be the other kind of spelling mistake, in which the writer vainly attempts to remember a spelling learnt arbitrarily and not synthetically. Some of the school writing-exercises of the period which have

[1] *A Study in Greek Epistolography*, by F. X. J. Exler, pub. Catholic University of America, 1923.

[2] e. g. Milligan, 24, 37, 42, 43, 51.

[3] Witkowski in an appendix has collected instances of over thirty varieties of vowel confusion.

survived consist of lists of words to be learnt by heart,[1] quite according to the well-meaning method familiar in our infancy. But obviously we have here some kind of guidance, if the data can be investigated with patience and without pedantry, and if we can decide how much to allow for the Egyptian birth of many of the writers.

The language is that of the *Κοινή*, the ordinary colloquial Greek of the day, which extended over the eastern part of the Roman Empire. It is the language which used to be called the 'bad Greek' of the New Testament. In fact, the chief linguistic value of these discoveries is that they will help us to understand how the Greek of St. Paul and St. Luke developed out of the Greek of Plato and Xenophon. In 1863 Bishop Lightfoot is reported to have said: 'If we could only recover letters that ordinary people wrote to each other without any thought of being literary, we should have the greatest possible help for the understanding of the language of the New Testament generally'; and now that the letters have been discovered his words are made good. But we must be quite certain what we mean by this generalization.

There is a type of scholar who is hypnotized by a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*. He feels uneasy until he finds another instance to quote in support. If a word previously peculiar to Polybius is discovered in a 'lost' Euripidean play, he seems to imagine that in some strange way this redounds to the credit of the former author. But this is illusory. It is but a small part of our gain when some of the rarer New Testament words are found to be employed in the most conversational of these letters. For instance, *ψωμίον*,[2] the 'sop' of Judas Iscariot, is used in a letter of 112 B.C. for the provender which the conscientious sightseer would throw to the sacred crocodiles. Or *ἆρον αὐτόν*,[3] 'Away with Him', the cry of the Jews to Pilate, is used by a mother of her refractory son. Then we find *ἀγωνία*, 'anxiety', *ὁμοθυμάδον*, *εὐδοκεῖν*, 'to be well pleased', *σίνδων*, 'a linen cloth', and many more.[4] In the same way

[1] See a collection, ed. Ziebarth, pub. Weber, 1910.
[2] Milligan, 11, 14. [3] Milligan, 42, 10.
[4] Milligan gives what must be an exhaustive index of over 500 parallelisms, great and small, in fifty letters.

there are parallelisms of syntax. There is a fairly frequent use of *οὐ μή* and *μὴ οὐ* with the Aorist Subjunctive in strong denials.[1] There is *ὡς ἄν* with the Aorist Subjunctive in the sense of *ubi primum*.[2] And in at least one case an idiom hitherto thought a Hebraism is found to be good colloquial Greek. *βλέπειν ἀπό*, to beware of 'the leaven of the Pharisees', is paralleled by *βλέπε σατὸν (σεαυτὸν) ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* from a letter written in A. D. 41 to a friend in financial difficulties;[3] perhaps the earliest mention of Jews as money-lenders.

Now all these similarities have no force and no interest except in so far as they serve to dispel that falsely 'classical' outlook which gave the edge to Nietzsche's gibe that 'it is strange that God found it necessary to learn Greek in order to communicate with man, and that he learnt it so badly'.[4] If we have accustomed ourselves to regard the New Testament as written in a language which in some respects is Greek and in others is not, and if we have been driven to fall back again and again upon the influence of highly probable Aramaic originals and the Hebraizing tendencies of a backwater of civilization, it is perhaps because we have been taking a quite arbitrary view of what Greek shall be considered to be. It is as though we had decided that Burke, Berkeley, and Gibbon were the standard English authors, and that the value of Shaw or Galsworthy varied mathematically with the number of words and constructions which they have inherited from their predecessors.

But, not to press an analogy which is obviously crude and imperfect at the best, these letters, in some mysterious way which no adduction of instances will ever suggest, reveal to us the *Κοινή* as a living language. It is living in its power of assimilation. As Roman influence extended in Egypt, we meet words like *διμισσωρία*, *κεντυρία*, *κοστωδεία*, *λιβλάριος* (*libellarius*, a paymaster), *πραιπόσιτος*, *πάλλιον*, and *τάβλα*. There is no pedantic search for archaic equivalents, but a firm

[1] Witkowski, 8, 13; 29, 35; 28, 20. Cf. Blass, *Gramm. d. neutest. Gr.*, paras. 214, 217.
[2] Witkowski, 38, 18; cf. 1 Cor. xi. 34.
[3] Milligan, 15, 24; cf. Mk. viii. 15, xii. 38.
[4] *Zarathustra.*

if impersonal belief that the first duty of a language is to be intelligible. And the syntax of classical Greek has been remoulded, and endowed with a new vitality. It is true that the particles which used to take the Subjunctive do so still with the greatest diligence, but now the interest is concentrated less upon the sentence and more upon the clause. The Genitive Absolute, that cumbrous device for keeping our interest agog until the subject could be introduced with the solemnity which was its due, has almost disappeared, except in one long rambling and querulous epistle from a wife to a neglectful husband.[1] The subject frequently changes, and the devices for building up a period, the parallelisms, the use of anticipatory neuter pronouns, and the like, are very rare. It is interesting to notice that one of the few instances of false concord is justified by the transference of interest: *μένφομαί σοι μεγάλως ἀπολέσας χυρίδια δύω*[2] ('I blame you greatly for losing two little pigs'). The loser of the pigs is now the important person, and ought to be in the nominative.

It is not a very great step from this to the amazing *ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* (Rev. i. 4) of the author of the Apocalypse.[3]

It is, of course, easy to exaggerate the significance of letters hastily written by men who were often illiterate; but perhaps what we have missed most in New Testament Greek is the imposing edifice of the classical sentence. When St. Luke gives us it in his preface to 'most excellent Theophilus' we hail it with glee and point out that the 'first verses of this Gospel are in marked contrast to the rest, being written in a far more cultivated style'.[4] Of course it is true, but, if we are honest, do we really prefer them to the Greek of the parable of the Prodigal Son?

The classical Greek prose of the classical curriculum, with its threefold division into Thucydidean, Platonic, and Demosthenic, has its weakness as well as its strength. The Platonic

[1] Isias to Hephaestion: v. *inf.* [2] Milligan, 24, 4.

[3] On the break-down of Greek syntax as illustrated by the Apocalypse and these letters see Dr. J. Armitage Robinson in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, x, p. 10.

[4] Any commentator on Lk. i. 1.

sentence, in which every word has 'grown into its place', with its unequalled resources for distinguishing the finest shades of meaning, and recording an exhaustive analysis in the shortest possible phrase; Thucydides and his sacrifice of cohesion in his worship of the pregnant word; the balance of Demosthenes, who never leaves the slightest doubt in our minds as to what he believes and what he discredits; these are not the ultimate categories of Greek prose expression. There is in all three the isolation of genius.

The mantle of Thucydides descended upon no man. Plotinus is a warning example of the havoc wrought by a disciple who inherited the vocabulary without the lucidity of his master. Later Greek rhetoric was strangled by the forced antithesis. But Greek was still a living language. And these letters give us in a humble way instances of what this language was like when not unnaturally, if sublimely, moulded by genius into forms cursed with the sterility of high development. Perhaps an expanding knowledge of the *Κοινή* will help us to revise our estimate of the New Testament writers as men trying to use a language which they imperfectly understood, and to recognize that they achieved lucid narrative, close reasoning, and impassioned poetry in a living tongue.

From another point of view the letters, while perhaps of small account to the historian who writes in terms of kings and wars and foreign policies, should prove of considerable value to the student of social conditions. Details can often be obtained about such things as the price of commodities, the methods of farming, the yield of an average harvest, the commissions one performed for one's friends when visiting a market town, the nature of road transport, and the like. If the enormous mass of data at our disposal can ever be got into a manageable form, it might be possible to reconstruct with tolerable completeness the life of a small farmer or merchant, and so to form an idea of the standard of happiness and comfort reached by the average man at a period when Greek civilization had done its utmost for the world and Roman vigour was yet unimpaired. At any rate, we have here something tangible. These humble letter-writers were not concerned to

make out a case: they wrote about matters which were really important to them. And for the ordinary student the very matter-of-fact nature of details, which it would be tedious to adduce, will serve to vivify what is usually perhaps a very vague picture of ancient civilization; one in which the Roman who roasted turnips and the other Roman who fed his lampreys on slaves are equally memorable and equally instructive, and 'Lucullan feasts' and 'panem et Circenses' stand eternally in wooden contrast.

But after all the interest of the general reader will be most easily kindled by the humanness of these letters, by the charming way in which they illustrate the commonplace that the nature of man never changes, by the tantalizing glimpses they give of domestic problems long since resolved, and prayers long since answered or ignored. The impudent schoolboy letter of Theon to his father, who was going off to Alexandria without him, is almost famous, but may well be quoted again:[1]

'Theon to Theon his father, greeting. That was a fine trick, not taking me to the city with you! If you don't take me to Alexandria with you, I won't write to you! I won't speak to you! I won't wish you good-morning! If you do go to Alexandria, I won't hold your hand or have anything more to say to you. That's what will happen if you don't take me! And mother said to Archelaus, "He upsets me. Take him off my hands!" And you did a fine thing! You sent me a fine present, those beans![2] They kept me in the dark at home on the 12th, when you sailed. So do please send for me. If you don't, I won't eat or drink. Goodbye.'

Still better known, perhaps, is the letter from Hilarion to his wife Alis,[3] often quoted to illustrate the slight regard in which infant life was held.[4] As a counterpoise to the attentive Hilarion we may perhaps instance the shamefully neglectful Hephaestion, a 'recluse' of the Serapeum. Apparently it was

[1] *P. Oxyrh.* 119; Milligan, 42.

[2] δῶρα μεγάλα, ἀράκια = big presents, beans. Perhaps used of anything worthless (Milligan), or possibly to be used in some childish game. In any case no equivalent to the trip to Alexandria.

[3] *P. Oxyrh.* 744; Milligan, 12; Witkowski, 59.

[4] 'If it is a male, let it live; if it is a female, expose it.'

the custom to go into retreat (*κατοχή*) for a stipulated period in the temple of Serapis at Memphis; and a number of letters have been discovered addressed to one or another of these devotees. Hephaestion seems to have found the atmosphere so peaceful that he refused to leave it when the period of retreat was concluded; so his wife Isias sent him a letter,[1] partly indignant and partly conciliatory, but wholly breathless and involved. After describing her surprise at his conduct, and the poverty into which she has fallen through his neglect, and the displeasure of his mother, she begs him to return to her *εἴπερ μὴ ἀναγκαιότερόν σε περισπᾷ*, 'if you can conveniently do so', a naïve return to the conventions which is wholly delightful. She also induces her brother-in-law Dionysius to second her efforts, and he too writes a letter[2] in which all her most telling points are repeated in words obviously dictated by her. One would like to know the upshot of it. At any rate, Hephaestion threw both letters away.

Then there are the Egyptian soldiers waiting for their relief in some garrison town by the Red Sea, and combating not merely their own despondency but also a scarcity of food caused by the foundering of an *ἐλεφαντηγός*, or elephant-transport, which was bringing supplies.[3] They are consoled by a friend in words which have a quaintly Pauline ring: . . . *μὴ οὖν ὀλιγοψυχήσητε, ἀλλ' ἀνδρίζεσθε, ὀλίγος γὰρ χρόνος ὑμῖν ἐστιν*. Or again, what tale of crime and intrigue might not be revealed had we the clue to the following!

'On my arrival at Alexandria I learned . . . that the house of Secunda has been searched and my house has been searched. . . . I am not so much as anointing myself until I shall hear a report from you on all points. I am being pressed by my friends to become a member of the household of the chief usher Apollonius, in order that I may come along with him to the inquiry. The marshal of the strategus and Justus the sword-bearer are in prison, as the prefect ordered, until the inquiry, unless indeed they shall persuade the chief usher to give security for them until the inquiry.'[4]

[1] *P. Brit. Mus.* 42; Milligan, 4; Witkowski, 26.
[2] *P. Vat.* A; Witkowski, 27.
[3] *P. Fl. P.* ii. 40 A; Witkowski, 16.
[4] *P. Oxyrh.* 294; Milligan, 13 (Milligan's translation).

Apparently it was an occasion on which the lion rent the jackal as well as his more usual prey.

Then we have the Roman senator Lucius Memmius making a journey up the Nile ἐπὶ θεωρίαν, 'to see the sights'.[1] Some local official is bidden to 'take the greatest care on all points that the visitor may be well satisfied', and to 'display the greatest zeal'. An itinerary is mapped out for the distinguished visitor, and he is to be given the opportunity of doing all the conventional things in the conventional way, just as his modern successor might mount a reluctant dromedary to gape at the pyramids of Gizeh. At the other end of the social scale we have the two wine-merchants, if that be not too dignified a name for them, who write[2] to their father that 'on the day you left we sold thirty-two quarts, including a good deal of quite thin wine, to some strangers for five drachmas: so our sales are improving, and we hope that the improvement will be even greater'. And there is the struggling farmer who writes thus to a son to whom farming has apparently no appeal:

'Our partner has taken no share in the work, for not only was the well not cleaned out, but in addition the water-channel was choked with sand, and the whole land is untilled. No tenant was willing to work it, only I continue paying the public taxes without getting anything back in return. There is hardly a single plot that the water will irrigate. Therefore you must come, otherwise there is a risk that the plants may perish.'[3]

And, although its date is somewhere round A. D. 350, the following, which explains itself, is too good to omit.[4]

'Melas to Sarapion and Silvanus, greeting. I dispatched to you through the grave-digger the body of your brother Phibion, and I paid him the costs of the carriage of the body amounting to 340 drachmas in the old coinage.[5] I wonder exceedingly

[1] *P. Tebt.* 33; Milligan, 11.
[2] *P. Oxyrh.* 1672; Olsson, 24.
[3] *Berlin. Griech. Urkunden*, 530; Milligan, 22 (Milligan's translation).
[4] *P. Grenf.* ii. 77; Milligan, 50 (Milligan's translation).
[5] i. e. before the revision by Diocletian.

that you went off so cruelly, without taking the body of your brother, but that having collected all that he had, you then went off. From this I learned that it was not on account of the dead man that you came here, but on account of his goods. See to it therefore that you furnish me the sums expended. The expenses are . . .'

Here follows the bill, amounting to 520 drachmas. Poor trusting soul! Let us hope the brothers' hearts were touched.

But although, as is natural in a collection of this kind, comedy is nearest the surface, there are passages by which a deeper interest is aroused. There is the famous letter of consolation, so touching from the fact that there is no consolation to bestow:[1]

'Irene to Taonnophris and Philo, good cheer![2] I grieved and wept as much for the blessed one[3] as I wept for Didymas, and I did all that was fitting, I and all my household. But still nothing can be done in such a case. So comfort one another. Goodbye.'

Or there is a tense and distraught letter,[4] addressed 'to those who speak the truth', and beginning 'Apollonius to Ptolemaeus his father, greeting. I swear by Serapis—had I not a little respect for you, you should never see my face—that all things are false and your gods with the rest, for they have cast us into a great forest where we shall probably die.' And there is the agonized letter of a prodigal son[5] who 'knows that he has sinned' and begs his mother's forgiveness. But our last example, though this too is from the fourth century A. D., is in some ways the most significant. As a great part of the linguistic interest of the letters depends upon the light they throw on the New Testament, it is perhaps fitting to select a letter which shows the new spirit leavening the old. This is what some illiterate Coptic peasant, the priest of the obscure village of Hermopolis, has the audacity to write to no less a person than the Roman commandant of the local garrison about a deserting soldier.[6]

[1] *P. Oxyrh.* 115; Milligan, 38. [2] εὐψυχεῖν for the usual χαίρειν.
[3] εὔμοιρος, Euphemism. [4] *P. Par.* 47; Milligan, 7; Witkowski, 39.
[5] *Berlin. Griech. Urkunden*, 846; Milligan, 37.
[6] *P. Brit. Mus.* 417; Milligan, 51.

'I wish you to know, my lord, with regard to the soldier Paulus, with regard to his flight, pardon him just this once, since I am not at leisure to come to you this very day. And again, if he does not desist, he will come into your hands still another time. I pray for your health for many years, my lord brother.' Alas for the old Roman *gravitas*! It is clear that Gibbon was right; the new spirit was not the least among the causes which hastened the end.

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C. J. E.

IV

THE ARTS

Greek Music in the Papyri and Inscriptions

I. The new fragments and their worth.
II. The musical and rhythmical notation.
III. General musical analysis.
IV. Detailed musical analysis.
V. Other papyri relating to musical theory and practice.

I. WHEN Wessely and Crusius interpreted the musical notation of the Aidin inscription, a new chapter opened in the study and knowledge of Greek music. Before 1891 little was known of the actual practice of Greek musicians, though much had been conjectured on the basis of statements found in treatises such as the *Ἁρμονικὰ Στοιχεῖα* of Aristoxenus and the *Περὶ Μουσικῆς* of Aristides Quintilianus. It is true that general histories of music and special discussions of Greek music frequently presented a number of musical scores in Greek notation; but some of these compositions are of very doubtful value as evidence. A Hymn to the Muse,[1] one to the Sun, and a third to Nemesis had been known from manuscript sources since 1581. There is considerable probability that the Hymn to Nemesis should be attributed to Mesomedes, a Cretan musician closely associated with the Emperor Hadrian;[2] and, unless similarity of style is deceptive, the Hymn to the Sun may be by the same composer. It is evident, however, that enormous assumptions were involved when writers treated these compositions as representative examples of Greek music—as if the art of music had been stationary since the time of Plato. The first few phrases of the first Pythian ode of Pindar, with a setting in Greek notation, were

[1] This composition is regarded as two separate pieces by Wilamowitz (*Timotheos: Die Perser*, p. 97); Th. Reinach (*La Musique Grecque*, p. 194) has adopted this view.

[2] For the evidence see C. von Jan, *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, *Suppl.*, pp. 47–8.

published by Athanasius Kircher in 1648; but the manuscript which was said to have contained the music cannot be traced, and some details of the Greek notation are open to serious suspicions. The composition is now quite generally regarded as a forgery, perversely concocted by Kircher himself. The music in Greek notation to two lines of Homer, which Benedetto Marcello used for his setting of the Eighteenth Psalm in 1725, is in little better repute. In 1841 Bellermann published from manuscript sources an anonymous treatise, of uncertain date, containing a few examples of Greek notation; but these pieces are only brief exercises intended to illustrate certain rhythmic and melodic formulae. Not everything in Greek musical notation is the work of Greek composers.

But during the last few decades the Egyptian papyri and inscriptions from Delphi and Asia Minor have given us a more extensive corpus, which is free from the grosser disabilities of the pieces previously known. The value and interest of the compositions enumerated above have been successively lessened by the discovery of the ten following remains of ancient music. (1) The Aidin inscription, which is often referred to as the Epitaph of Sīcilus (Σείκιλος), was the first of the newer fragments to be discovered;[1] but eight years elapsed before the first attempts were made to interpret the musical notation which accompanies the text. This brief song is well preserved, except for a few details in the musical signs. The date commonly assigned to it, on uncertain evidence, is the first century of the Christian era. The following facsimile will afford, in all essential points, a tolerably accurate idea of the inscription:[2]

[1] The inscription, found at Aidin, near Tralles, in Asia Minor, was published by Sir W. M. Ramsay in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* vii (1883), p. 277. The actual stone has disappeared since the burning of Smyrna in September, 1923. A good photograph (from a cast or squeeze) is to be found in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xviii (1894), plate 13. The discussions of this piece are very numerous. The chief are those of O. Crusius (*Philologus.* l, 1891, p. 169; lii, 1893, p. 167), Th. Reinach (*Rev. des Ét. Gr.* vii, 1894, p. 203; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xviii, 1894, p. 365), C. von Jan (*Musici Script. Gr.*, p. 450; *Supplementum*, p. 35), and R. Wagner (*Philol.* lxxvii, 1921, pp. 285, 295).

[2] The present facsimile is based on the published photograph, with which I have compared the various attempts at decipherment. The earlier facsimiles differ greatly from each other. The more recent ones of R. Wagner (*Philol.* lxxvii, 1921, Tafel ii, based on an examination of

Εἰκὼν ἡ λίθος εἰμί· τίθησι μὲ Σείκιλος ἔνθα μνήμης ἀθανάτου σῆμα πολυχρόνιον.

ΟΣΟΝ ΖΗΣ ΦΑΙΝΟΥ

ΜΗΔΕΝ ΟΛΩΣ ΣΥ ΛΥΠΟΥ

ΠΡΟΣ ΟΛΙΓΟΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟ ΖΗΝ

ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ Ο ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΑΠΑΙΤΕΙ

Σείκιλος εὐτερ . . .

(2) A mutilated fragment of a musical score of lines 338–344 of the *Orestes* of Euripides was found among the Rainer papyri:[1]

⟨κατολοφ⟩ΥΡΟΜΑΙ ΜΑΤΕΡΟΣ ⟨αἷμα σᾶς

ὅς σ' ἀναβ⟩ΑΚΧΕΥΕΙ Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ ⟨ὅλβος οὐ

μόνιμο⟩Σ ΕΜ ΒΡΟΤΟΙΣ ΑΝΑ ⟨δὲ λαῖφος ὡς

τις⟩ ΑΚΑΤΟΥ ΘΟΑΣ ΤΙΝΑ⟨ξας δαίμων⟩

ΚΑΤΕΚΛΥΣΕΝ ƆΓƆ Δ⟨εινῶν πόνων⟩ ƆΓƆ ΩΩΣ ΠΟΝΤ⟨ου

λάβροις ὀλεθρίοισ⟩ΙΝ ⟨ἐν κύμασιν⟩.

squeezes possessed by Crusius) and of Th. Reinach (*La Musique Grecque*, p. 171) seem to be well founded. The above facsimile differs from those of Wagner and Reinach in the following particulars: (1) over the second syllable of *φαίνου* Reinach gives ÷|; (2) Reinach omits the hyphen under the two notes set to the second syllable of *ὅλως*, and Wagner is doubtful of its presence; (3) Wagner reads the note set to the last syllable of *χρόνος* as *κ*; (4) in Reinach's version the hyphen at the end of the inscription extends under the last two notes only. It will be understood that, as regards the exact form of the letters and the separation of words, minor concessions have been made to typographical needs and the reader's convenience.

[1] Ed. Wessely: *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, v, Vindobonae, 1892. Facsimiles are also given by

There is a very strong presumption that the music preserved is precisely that which the audience of Euripides heard, and not some later setting; for Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Comp. Verb.* 11) possessed some part, if not the whole, of a score of this very tragedy just before the Christian era; and he speaks as if the music were that of Euripides himself. Yet any conclusions which we are inclined to draw from this fragment will always be open to some doubt, since the order of the lines in the papyrus is different from that upon which modern scholars are agreed.[1] (3) In 1893 the French School found at the so-called Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi a paean inscribed on the broken fragments of a mural inscription.[2] This composition, now known as the first Delphic Hymn, is not complete, but we have twenty-five lines (the equivalent of ninety bars of $\frac{5}{8}$ time) sufficiently well preserved for us to appreciate and analyse the style of the text and music. From the type of lettering the hymn would appear to have been inscribed within the last half of the second century B. C., and there is no evidence that its original composition should be placed very much earlier.[3] (4) A second Hymn, consisting of a paean followed by a prosodion, was found at the same site by the French School.[4] Not only is one limit of its date fixed by the prayer for the Roman power, which appears in the prosodion (*τάν τε δορί[στεπτον κάρτεϊ] Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὰν αὔξετ' ἀγηράτῳ θάλ[λουσαν φερε]νίκαν*), but the exact date 128–127 B. C. is fixed by the appearance of the

O. Crusius (*Philol.* lii, 1893, p. 147; *Die Delphischen Hymnen*, p. 147), C. Torr (*On the Interpretation of Greek Music*, p. 23); and R. Wagner offers some notes on readings in *Philol.* lxxvii, 1921, p. 293. C. von Jan's copies of the papyrus (in *Musici Script. Gr.* and in the later *Supplementum*) are both marred by misprints (cf. *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xvii, p. 1051).

[1] It is noteworthy that the codices of Euripides are also dislocated (but in a different manner) at this place.

[2] Published in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xvii (1893), pp. 569 ff. At first the fragments were arranged in a wrong order.

[3] The suggestion that this first hymn is exactly contemporaneous with the second is tempting; but there is no definite proof.

[4] Published in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xviii (1894), pp. 345 ff. A definitive edition of both hymns is to be found in *Fouilles de Delphes*, tom. iii, fasc. ii, pp. 158 ff., by Colin and Reinach. The text, with notes and a transcription into modern notation, will conveniently be found in J. U. Powell, *Collect. Alexan.*, pp. 141–69.

composer's name, Limenius, in another collateral Delphic inscription.[1] These two Hymns were executed by professional Dionysiac singers (τεχνῖται) in a religious ceremony, during a solemn deputation sent by Athens to Delphi. From other Delphic inscriptions of about the same date it is clear that choirs of some magnitude, with performers on the cithara and aulos, were sent to Delphi to perform hymns specially composed in honour of the god. (5–9) In 1918 W. Schubart published other musical fragments found on the *verso* of a piece of papyrus from Egypt.[2] On the *recto* is a Latin military document, previously published by Mommsen, dating from A. D. 156. The musical fragments were written before the papyrus was mutilated, and are now incomplete. From the form of the letters Schubart conjectures that the *verso* was written at the end of the second century, or at the beginning of the third century A. D. The music may, of course, be a copy of pieces composed many decades earlier.[3] The fragments are five in number, and will be described separately. (5) The first consists of twelve lines of a paean to Apollo, containing references to the places where his cult flourished, to his functions as μουσαγέτης, as the avenger of the insult offered to his mother by Tityos, and possibly as Pythius. With Wagner's restorations, the text reads:

Παιάν, ὦ Παιάν, ⟨μέλψητ' ᾠδαῖς κοῦρον⟩
τὸν Δάλου τέρπει π⟨ρὼν Ἰνωποῦ τ' αὐ-⟩

[1] Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Gr.*[3], no. 698.

[2] *Sitzungsber. der preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1918, pp. 763–8, with a photographic facsimile of the papyrus. Schubart's own transcription of the papyrus omits a few details of the notation. The fragments have been widely discussed. See Th. Reinach, *Revue Archéologique*, 1919, pp. 11–27; H. Abert, *Arch. für Musikwissenschaft*, i (1919), pp. 313–28; O. Schroeder, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1920, pp. 350–3; and, especially, the important article of Rudolf Wagner, *Philol.* lxxvii (1921), pp. 256–310. A. Thierfelder's erratic elucidations (*Zeitschr. für Musikwissenschaft*, i, 1919, pp. 217 ff.; and *Paean; Tekmessa an der Leiche ihres Gatten Aias*, published by Breitkopf and Härtel) have merited the censure of O. Schroeder, R. Wagner, and H. Abert. In his recent book (*La Musique Grecque*, p. 202) Th. Reinach speaks of these pieces as the 'Fragments de Contrapollinopolis', from the station in the Thebais whence the military document must originally have come.

[3] Th. Reinach (*La Mus. Gr.*, p. 202) seems to assume that the music was *composed* after the document on the *recto* was written.

-λὼν καὶ δεῖναι Ξάνθου ⟨Χρυσῆς θ' ἱρᾶς κλη-⟩
-δὼν παγαί τ' Ἰσμηνο⟨ῦ καὶ κρημνώδης⟩
Κρ⟨ήτα· Παιάν, ὃς Μούσα⟨ις πρὸς Παρνασσοῦ⟩
κράνας ὕμνων ἐξάρ⟨χεις εὖ προστά-⟩
-ξας φωνάν, ὃς πῦρ β⟨άλλεις αἴγλαν σαῖς⟩
χαίταις στέψας Λατοῦ⟨ς παῖ, τόξῳ τείσας⟩
ματρὸς λώβαν· κληδὼν α⟨ἰηων . . . . . ⟩
-ς τῷ Ζεὺς δαδουχεῖ ⟨. . . . . ⟩
-γαν τῷ γᾶς ἐν βώλοις ξ⟨. . . . . ⟩
-ποι.[1]

(6) The second Berlin fragment is an instrumental piece of three lines.

(7) The third Berlin fragment consists of four lines of an address to Telamonian Ajax after his suicide. Apparently there was also a reference to Tecmessa. The suggestion that we have here an excerpt from some tragedy is reasonable. The text runs:

Αὐτοφόνῳ χερὶ καὶ φάσγανον . . . . .
Τελαμωνιάδα τὸ σόν, Αἶαν, ε . . . .
δι' ⟨Ο⟩δυσέα τὸν ἀλιτρὸν ὁ ? η . . . . . .
ἔλκεσιν ὁ ποθούμενος . . . . . .

(8) A further instrumental piece of three lines is followed by (9) a half line, possibly of a lyric (*αἶμα κατὰ χθονὸς ἀπο . . .*). There is no ground for thinking that these five Berlin fragments are in any sense a continuous piece. How should the victorious Apollo and the suicide Ajax be connected so closely? The second vocal fragment is preceded by abbreviations for *ἄλλο χορικόν* (or *χορός*), the third vocal fragment by an abbreviated *ἄλλο*; but it is utterly improbable that these marginal jottings were intended to indicate that each instrumental piece was closely connected with the preceding vocal piece, as a kind of *coda*. Nor can the instrumental pieces be the accompaniments of the vocal pieces; for they do not

[1] An earlier restoration of this paean was offered by Th. Reinach (*Revue Archéologique*, 1919, p. 13). In *La Musique Grecque* (p. 202), however, he follows Wagner, except that he makes one addition at the end of l. 11 *ἐν βώλοις ξ⟨ανθοὶ τέλλονται κάρ⟩ποι*. Another restoration by A. Thierfelder may be found in *Zeitschr. für Musikwissenschaft*, i, 1919, p. 221; it takes little account of papyrological probabilities, and is marred by impossible Greek grammar. But what can R.'s *α⟨ἰηων⟩* mean?

correspond in length, or in rhythm, with the pieces they follow.[1] The five pieces are rather in the nature of a compilation or anthology, for purposes of instruction or pleasure. The contents of this second-century Music Lovers' Library were presumably pieces which had some considerable notoriety, and from their nature they are more likely to be selections from comparatively standard works than contemporary favourites. (10) Among the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vol. xv. 1786) we have a fragment of a Christian hymn. Its subject can be seen clearly from the best preserved passages:

Ὑμνούντων δ' ἡμῶν Πατέρα χυίὸν χἅγιον Πνεῦμα πᾶσαι
δυνάμεις
ἐπιφωνούντων ἀμὴν ἀμὴν κράτος αἶνος . . . . . .
δωτῆρι μόνῳ
πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀμὴν ἀμήν.

The date of the papyrus is the third century A. D.; but Abert has suggested[2] that the melody itself may be much older than the words, and that a Christian poet has turned it to a more noble use by adding an appropriate text.[3]

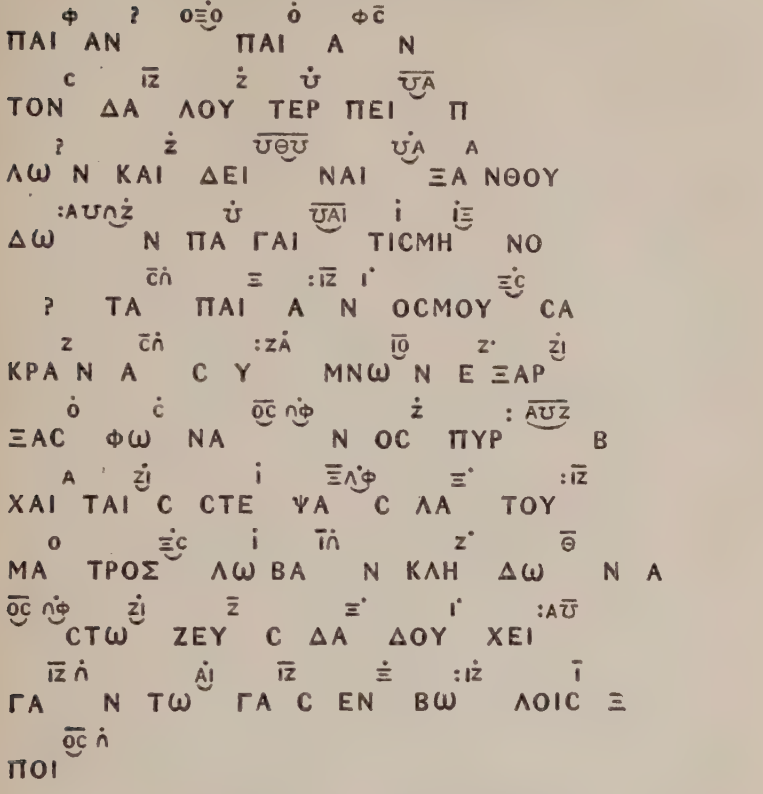
In dealing with these fragments it has to be confessed that only one, the Orestes papyrus, can with any confidence be claimed as a specimen of the music that Plato might have known. The Delphic Hymns are dated with some degree of accuracy, but it is unwise to lay too much stress on the suggestion that the conservatism of religious music has operated to such an extent that they can be placed in the same class as the Orestes fragment. The other pieces are, at the very best, of uncertain date, no matter what allowances we may make; and they may be of no more value as evidence for classical Greek music than are the hymns of Mesomedes. Remembering the revolution in music which is associated with the names of

[1] Yet R. Wagner considers the rhythm of the first instrumental fragment to be parallel to that of the paean. This view is not convincing and, as will be seen, is based on an inconsistent treatment of the various rhythmical signs.

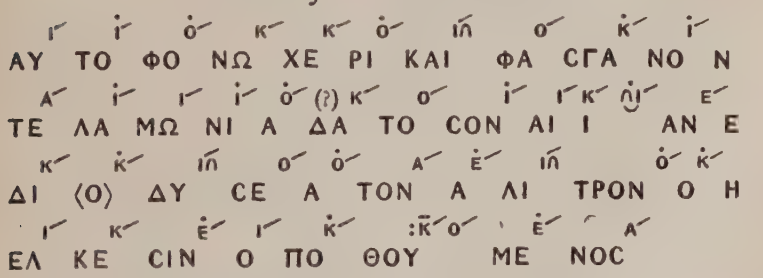
[2] In *Bursians Jahresbericht*, vol. cxciii (1922), p. 7.

[3] R. Wagner has dealt with this fragment at some length in *Philologus*, lxxix (1923), pp. 201–21. Most recently Hermann Abert has discussed the fragment in his article 'Das älteste Denkmal der christlichen Kirchenmusik' in *Die Antike*, Bd. ii (1926), pp. 282–90.

THE BERLIN PAEAN



THE AJAX FRAGMENT



The above approximate facsimiles are based on Schubart's photograph of the papyrus and on R. Wagner's revised readings.

Timotheus and his contemporaries, and bearing in mind that these newer fragments may cover a range of six centuries, it would be surprising if, by combining their evidence, we arrived at any real idea of music which is truly Greek. We should frankly acknowledge that all we can expect from the evidence is material for a sketch of the Hellenistic and Roman art. Nor within these limits can we satisfactorily control our evidence; for our picture will be a composite one.

Yet when we have made all these reservations, serious as they are, it is remarkable to discover how many points of similarity there are between all these fragments, and how closely they afford illustrations of statements made by ancient musicologists and theorists. Nor are the points of contact merely between the fragments and the theorists of the Roman age; in several important details we find confirmation of information preserved in writers of respectable antiquity. We can see in actual operation the way in which the keys and the modes and the smaller nuances were employed in melody, to what extent there was a purely musical structure in the melodies, how the modes were accommodated to the sentiment of the words, what were the principles of melodic composition, and in what directions the quantities of the words were moulded to the requirements of rhythm. But we should not be hasty in thinking that Damon, the friend of Pericles and the musical oracle of Socrates, would have recognized all the features of our fragments as characteristic of the music to which he himself was accustomed.

II. Our attention is first engaged by the musical and rhythmical notation of these fragments. To indicate pitch, the Greeks used two series of alphabetical signs, one for vocal melodies, and another for instrumental. Both series are preserved in the tables of Alypius, together with a lucid verbal explanation.[1] These tables enable us to determine, with some show of accuracy, the sequence of greater and smaller intervals

[1] These tables may be found in C. von Jan, *Musici Script. Gr.*, pp. 368–406, and in Macran, *Aristoxenus*, pp. 46–61. Alypius is a late writer, but the internal evidence of these tables is thought to point to their construction in the time of Archytas (cf. Reinach, *La Mus. Gr.*, p. 26).

and the relative pitch of the notes in the various scales; as far as the general pitch of a Greek melody is concerned, our interpretations need not be more than a major or minor third wrong.[1] For the interpretation of our fragments the tables of Alypius are entirely satisfactory, except in the cases of the Orestes piece and the Ajax fragment. The notes used in these two fragments are not found in any single scale of Alypius, or in any combination of allied scales. But, remarkably enough, the signs used in the Orestes papyrus are to be found in one of a set of scales which Aristides Quintilianus has preserved,[2] with the declaration that it is one of the *ἁρμονίαι* to which Plato refers in the *Republic*. Such a coincidence is really a strong confirmation of the reliability of our sources of theoretical information. In the second Delphic Hymn the instrumental notation is employed; but it is clear from the manner in which a syllable is duplicated when two notes are set to it (e.g. *ἔχειεις*) that the notation was intended to indicate the vocal part as well as the instrumental. The notation here is placed above the text, though Gaudentius states that the instrumental notation was placed below the words.[3] The vocal notation of the Berlin papyrus is curious in this respect that, with very few exceptions, the musical notes are not directly above the vowels or consonants, but are to the right of the vowel and the left of the following consonant.[4]

The details of the relation of notes to words are of some interest. When two notes were to be sung to the same syllable, the vowel, whether long or short, was sometimes doubled in the text. Thus in the Orestes fragment we have *ὦως*; in the first Delphic Hymn we have *Φοιοῖβον*, *Δεελφίσιιν*, *εοὐύδρου*, *μααντειεῖον*; in the second Delphic Hymn we also find *κλειειτύν*, *ὕμνωων*, *αἀμβρόταν*. But such a duplication

[1] In accordance with the convention by which tenor songs are written in the treble clef, most of the current transcriptions of Greek music are set just one octave too high. This harmless convention will be followed later in this chapter.

[2] pp. 21–2 Meibom.

[3] p. 23 Meibom., p. 350 C. von Jan.

[4] This feature of the notation increases the difficulties of textual restoration, since we have no means of conjecturing what the lost melody was, or how much of the available space it occupied.

was not obligatory; it is not found in the Aidin epitaph, in the Berlin Paean, or in the Christian Hymn; there is a single example in the Ajax fragment. When two successive syllables are to be sung to the same note, the musical sign is repeated in the Aidin inscription, in the Ajax piece, and in the Christian Hymn. In the Delphic Hymns, however, the sign is not repeated, though it is clear from such examples as *Τριτωωνίδος* (i. 9), where the first ω is the only vowel without a note, that any given pitch must have been maintained until a new sign appeared.[1]

All these fragments, with the exception of the Delphic Hymns, are provided with a rhythmical notation. It is a reasonable assumption that there are no rhythmical signs in the Delphic Hymns because they were not needed, and because the rhythm intended by the composer is sufficiently indicated by the normal lengths of the syllables. Certainly, every one of the paeonics in these Hymns has its full complement of five *χρόνοι πρῶτοι* expressed in the words themselves, and there is nothing in the Hymns which would demand the use of the signs found in the other fragments. The chief signs are five in number: two which indicate quantity (— and ⏑), one which binds groups of notes (⏑), another to indicate a rest or a protraction (⌒), and the *στιγμή* (·). Elaborate examples of their use are afforded by the Berlin Paean.

We first notice the *accentus longus* or diseme mark (—), which indicates two *χρόνοι πρῶτοι*, and the analogous diacritical mark, the triseme (⏑), which indicates three *χρόνοι πρῶτοι*.[2] They are placed, not immediately over the syllables of the text, but over the musical notes; in some cases such a position was the only one which could have indicated the proper subdivision of the total time allotted to the syllable. In the Orestes fragment the diseme mark is used four times. In each case the sign is placed over a single note to which a long syllable was sung. From the point of view of the singer its

[1] In the Orestes fragment and the Berlin Paean there are no repeated notes or occasions for them.

[2] Throughout this chapter I shall use ♪ to represent the *χρόνος πρῶτος*.

use was not necessary, even though in two cases the vowel is naturally short; but its employment makes the musical notation rhythmically independent of the words. In the Aidin inscription the diseme mark is quite frequent, and it is especially interesting to find that of the two notes over the last syllable of λυποῦ only the second has the diseme mark. The notation of ζῆν is similar. The total length of these syllables, then, was three χρόνοι πρῶτοι, and they were metrically parallel to the syllable ζῇς and the second syllable of φαίνου, which have a single note marked by the triseme (⏑). In these two cases of λυποῦ and ζῆν the signs and their proper allocation are essential to the rhythmical interpretation of the words; for the quantities of the syllables do not in themselves indicate the rhythm intended by the poet. This is striking evidence of the difficulty which we face when we set out to recover the rhythms of Pindar or the tragic choruses without the aid of the musical notation. How often may the quantities of the words have been merely the skeleton of the living rhythm? There are five other long syllables, however, in the Aidin inscription where the diseme mark is used with no other effect than to make the musical notation rhythmically intelligible apart from the text. In the Berlin fragments there are many examples of the use of the diseme mark. As far as the instrumental pieces are concerned the signs must be our chief guide to the rhythm, and we cannot easily confirm or refute their evidence. In the Ajax fragment only one diseme is used, but it is important; for it is over the first of two notes set to the second syllable of ποθούμενος, and affords an indication that the total value of the syllable was three χρόνοι πρῶτοι. In the Paean the diseme mark must be somewhat differently interpreted. In the phrase τὸν Δάλου τέρπει, for example, τόν has a single note, Δα- has two notes standing beneath a single diseme mark, -λου has a single note without the diseme mark, τερ- has a single note without the diseme mark, while -πει has two notes covered by the diseme mark. Now all the syllables of this fragment are long,[1] and it would

[1] Compare, for example, the fragment of Terpander's hymn to Zeus.

seem that the diseme mark here is either capriciously redundant or that, instead of having its normal meaning of two χρόνοι πρῶτοι, it is used in a comparative sense, so that in this fragment the unit of measurement is not a short, but a long, syllable.[1] If this second alternative is the true one, the rhythmic basis is the greater spondee.[2] Such an interpretation, taken in conjunction with a satisfactory elucidation of the other rhythmical signs, leads to a consistent scheme and has generally commended itself. Once more we see how imperfectly the rhythm is indicated by the words alone. Again and again in this Paean, three long syllables are so rhythmized that they occupy the time of four longs, as in the case of Δάλου τέρ(πει), where the first syllable of Δάλου is extended to four normal χρόνοι πρῶτοι. In the Christian Hymn the diseme is used frequently, and always in its normal significance of two χρόνοι πρῶτοι.[3]

In all except the Orestes fragment and the Delphic Hymns we find that groups of two or three notes are bound together by a subscript curved hyphen, which undoubtedly indicates that they are to be sung to the same syllable.[4] The assumption that the time value of the syllable is divided between the notes when they are thus linked seems thoroughly justified.[5] This hyphen is frequently found in conjunction with the diseme mark. For example, the last syllable of ἀπαιτεῖ in the Aidin inscription has three notes all bound together by a hyphen, and the last two are covered by a diseme. The distribution

[1] In this connexion Wagner appositely cites Elias (*Com. Arist.* xviii. 1, p. 189): ἔστι γὰρ μακρὰ παρὰ τοῖς μουσικοῖς τεσσάρων χρόνων, ἣν καὶ δίσημον (*lege* δ' σημον, i. e. τετράσημον) καλοῦσιν ὡς διπλασίαν τῆς παρὰ τοῖς μετρικοῖς μακρᾶς, βραχεῖά ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς τριῶν χρόνων ὡς τριπλασία οὖσα τῆς παρὰ τοῖς μετρικοῖς βραχείας· ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη βραχεῖα τὴν τοιαύτην μακρὰν οὐ καταμετρεῖ.

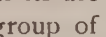
[2] Cf. Aristides Quint., p. 36 Meib. τῶν δὲ ποδικῶν γενῶν πρῶτόν ἐστι διὰ τὴν ἰσότητα τὸ δακτυλικόν· περὶ οὗ πρῶτον λέγωμεν. ἐν τῷ δακτυλικῷ γένει ἀσύνθετοι μέν εἰσι ῥυθμοὶ ἕξ . . . σπονδεῖος μείζων, ὁ καὶ διπλοῦς, ἐκ τετρασήμου θέσεως καὶ τετρασήμου ἄρσεως.

[3] If the reading πρυτανηω in the second line is correct, the diseme over the vowel *a* is strange; but the last syllable of πνεῦμα and the first of ἀμήν are also lengthened *metri gratia*.

[4] There are many references to this sign in the Latin grammarians (cf. Prisc. ii. 520, 8 K).

[5] There are no hyphens in the Delphic Hymns; but beyond doubt we are right in assuming that when two notes are set to a long syllable, the total time is divided between the notes.

of the time is therefore .[1] In the Berlin Paean the first syllable of δεῖναι has three notes covered by a single diseme mark, and the last two are bound together. Bearing in mind the unusual value of the diseme mark in this fragment, we must interpret the value of the notes as $-\cup\cup$, or . In the case of the second syllable of παγαί, three notes covered by a diseme mark are all embraced by a hyphen. The interpretation is three notes of equal length whose total value is a minim ( ).[2] The hyphen appears in profusion in the Christian Hymn, but its interpretation calls for no special comment.

In the Berlin papyrus and in the Christian Hymn there appears among the musical notes a symbol like a half-circle which is almost certainly a form of the λεῖμμα (∧).[3] In the Christian Hymn this sign is undoubtedly used to indicate a χρόνος κενός, or rest, and appears in combination with the diseme mark (thus:) at the end of each colon. In the Berlin vocal fragments its use is rather different. It is frequently found among a group of notes sung to one syllable; but it cannot have indicated a rest half-way through a syllable. For example, the last syllable of φωνάν in the Paean is set to three notes and a λεῖμμα. The first two notes are hyphenated and covered by a diseme mark; they are followed by a λεῖμμα hyphenated to a musical note. The equivalent in modern notation would be  .[4] In other words, the λεῖμμα here has the function of a symbol for protraction.[5] In the

[1] I do not understand why Reinach (*La Mus. Gr.*, p. 109 and p. 193) gives .

[2] To interpret as would be less accurate; for there would then be no distinction between this and the notation of δεῖ(ναι).

[3] H. Abert's suggestion that this sign is a kind of musical circumflex is not convincing. Wagner supposes that the λεῖμμα has a rounded form to prevent its confusion with a musical note.

[4] Notice that the last syllable of this word is shown by the notation to be three times as long as the first. Compare the setting of the first syllable of Αἶαν, (=) in the Ajax piece.

[5] Wagner treats the sign (generally) as an *anticipation* of the succeeding note. If such be the proper interpretation, the notation is curiously cumbersome; for would then be only another way of writing Φ. The

case of the Berlin instrumental pieces we cannot say with certainty whether the λεῖμμα is a protraction or a rest. Since the length of some of the notes in these pieces is indicated by the diseme, it might appear that the λεῖμμα need not have been used unless it indicated a rest. On the other hand, the triseme mark is not used in the papyrus; and a diseme mark followed by the λεῖμμα may have been employed in its place.

Of all the signs which appear in these newer fragments, none is as important as the στιγμή; and of all diacritical marks none is as liable to corruption and dislocation as a mere dot. We shall not be surprised to find that the usage of the στιγμή is not absolutely consistent, even in the same papyrus or the same fragment. It is worth pointing out also that in the case of the other signs we use their known or probable values to give us an idea of the rhythm intended by the composer; as far as the στιγμή is concerned, we are rather using the idea we have of the rhythm to determine the function of the sign. The few examples of the στιγμή found in the instrumental pieces of Bellermann's Anonymous taught us nothing; but its function was thus verbally defined by the unknown writer: ἡ μὲν οὖν θέσις σημαίνεται ὅταν ἁπλῶς τὸ σημεῖον ἄστικτον ᾖ, ἡ δ' ἄρσις ὅταν ἐστιγμένον. Which part of the foot was regarded by the writer as the θέσις is uncertain, but scholars have quite generally assumed that he meant the strong part or 'rise'[1] (*Hebung*, or *temps fort*). In the Orestes fragment the στιγμή appears sometimes over the musical note, sometimes at the right-hand side of it. In four cases we have a στιγμή associated with the first syllable of the dochmius; in five other cases it is found over the first long syllable of the cretic part of the dochmius; and where, as in the case of ὦως, there are two notes set to a syllable, each note

normally formed sign of the λεῖμμα is found in the Hymn to the Sun, where διώκεις is noted I Z Λ Z. Wagner would presumably rhythmize this as ∪ – ⏑, not as ∪ ⏑ –, and so be in agreement with J. W. White (*Verse of Greek Com.*, §§ 782-5). Yet in a few cases in the Paean where the λεῖμμα is not hyphenated to another note, Wagner rather inconsistently treats it as a protraction of the preceding note. Reinach invariably takes the λεῖμμα as a sign for protraction.

[1] The terms 'rise' and 'fall' were first suggested by Prof. E. A. Sonnenschein.

has the στιγμή. Though the notation is not complete for any single colon, it seems that the στιγμή was used at two points in the dochmius; but since our other evidence does not suffice to show what was the fundamental constitution of the dochmius, we cannot decide from these examples of the use of the στιγμή whether it represents ἄρσις or θέσις.[1] In the Aidin inscription the usage of the στιγμή is not entirely consistent. In one case (line 3) three consecutive short notes which are the equivalent of an iambus are all given the στιγμή;[2] in others (e.g. ζῆν, triseme) only the second note, which represents the last two χρόνοι πρῶτοι of the iambus, has the στιγμή; in other cases again (e.g. ὅλως, set to three short notes) only the first two notes have στιγμαί, but the second and third notes are bound together by a hyphen; in the cases of the triseme ζῇς and the second syllable of φαίνου, which have only one note, the στιγμή is given.[3] The run of the song is iambic; indeed, the phrase μηδὲν ὅλως is the only one which contains anything but an iambus of the normal, resolved, or syncopated types. And each line consists of two iambic dipodies. At once we see that the στιγμή is not found in the first foot of any dipody, but is found in the second foot of each of the dipodies. It has generally been assumed that in an iambic dipody the second foot is the 'rise' or strong part; it would seem, therefore, that the στιγμή is used here to indicate that stronger part of the dipody.[4] If we turn our attention to the second feet of the dipodies, it seems that sometimes the first two χρόνοι πρῶτοι of the foot are marked with the στιγμή, sometimes the last two, and in one case all three χρόνοι πρῶτοι are so marked.

[1] Cf. J. W. White (*Verse of Greek Com.*, §§ 623 ff.) for a discussion of evidence bearing on the nature of the dochmius. May the στιγμή here merely indicate the beginning of the constituent parts of the dochmius? Cf. Aristides Quint., p. 39, Meib.: δύο μὲν δοχμιακά, ὧν τὸ μὲν συντίθεται ἐξ ἰάμβου καὶ παίωνος διαγνίου. . . .

[2] Cf. also Wagner's reading of ὁ χρόνος in line 4, with three successive στιγμαί.

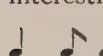
[3] As J. W. White points out (*Verse of Greek Com.*, §§ 779–81) these cases of ζῇς and the second syllable of φαίνου are quite contrary to the Rossbach-Westphal theory of iambic protraction.

[4] Wagner believes that in *melic* iambics, the first foot of a dipody is the 'stronger', though he agrees that this is not the case with dramatic trimeters.

From such chaos we cannot say what is the relation of the *στιγμή* to the individual foot.

In the Berlin Paean the *στιγμαί* appear generally in pairs over notes which together occupy four *χρόνοι πρῶτοι*, and such pairs are separated from one another by a similar interval of four *χρόνοι πρῶτοι*. We find that these pairs of *στιγμαί* frequently follow a quadriseme syllable (as *δᾱλὸν τἐρ-*),[1] and the effect of such sequences is that of a dactyl whose primarytime is a long syllable. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the function of the *στιγμαί* here is to mark the weak part of a foot rather than the strong.[2]

In the first instrumental piece we have five bars in succession in which a note covered by a diseme is followed by two *χρόνοι πρῶτοι* which have *στιγμαί* (e.g. ĒṄṘ). The quantities point strongly to a dactylic rhythm, and the *στιγμαί*, as Schroeder admits,[3] clearly mark the weak part of the foot. Especially interesting is the case of ŸĖĮẊ, which is the equivalent of



[4]

In the Ajax piece *στιγμαί* are placed above the short syllables. The rhythm is predominantly dactylic,[5] and it is the weak part of the foot which is marked by the *στιγμαί*.

[1] It will be remembered that the unit of measurement in the Paean is double the normal *χρόνος πρῶτος*.

[2] I see no escape from such a conclusion. For even if we claim that the rhythm of the Paean is anapaestic, and not dactylic, the strong part of the foot is still constituted by the syllables which have no *στιγμή*. It would surely be perverse and unconvincing to argue that in this Paean the strong part of many feet, whether dactylic or anapaestic, is resolved into two (relatively) short syllables, while at the same time the weaker part is constituted by one (relatively) long syllable. It is noteworthy also that the *στιγμή* can stand over a *λεῖμμα*; indeed the *λεῖμμα* is not found in the Paean unless it has the *στιγμή* above it, or is bound to a 'stigmatized' note.

[3] *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1920, pp. 350–3.

[4] In this first instrumental piece Wagner transcribes a note without the hyphen or diseme mark as if it were a minim (𝅗𝅥); in the second instrumental piece he gives the equivalent of such a note as a crochet (♩). Yet in *both* pieces he equates each of a pair of hyphenated notes to a crochet. Reinach is more consistent.

[5] In two cases, *καί* and *ὁ πο(θούμενος)*, we seem to have a foot consisting of two *χρόνοι πρῶτοι* only. Are these examples of the phenomenon of which Aristoxenus (?) speaks (C. von Jan, *Musici Script. Gr.*, p. 414): *ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἐν δισήμῳ γίνεται δακτυλικὸς πούς*? The line *δι' Ὀδυσέα τὸν ἀλιτρόν* is also difficult. There is some obscurity in the papyrus at this

The rhythm of the second of the Berlin instrumental fragments is too uncertain, and the placing of the στιγμαί is apparently so capricious that we can derive no evidence from it.

The usage of the στιγμή in the Christian Hymn is consistent throughout. Sometimes it appears singly in conjunction with a diseme mark; sometimes notes with στιγμαί are found in pairs. Especially important is the use of the στιγμή over a λεῖμμα marked with a diseme; for, since χρόνοι κενοί at the strong part are unlikely, this combination seems to show that the στιγμή is used for the weak part of a foot. It would be possible, however, to view the rhythm of the Hymn in such a way that the στιγμαί might seem to indicate the strong part of (resolved) anapaestic feet; but such a treatment is not convincing.[1]

These fragments of Greek music, then, do not settle the problem of the στιγμή beyond cavil. The evidence afforded by the Orestes piece and the Christian Hymn is inconclusive. The Aidin inscription indicates that the στιγμαί were used in the second foot of an iambic dipody, but is inconclusive evidence when we turn to the separate feet. The Berlin papyrus alone points strongly to the use of στιγμαί in the weak part of the individual feet. If we accept the evidence of the Berlin fragments as final, neither the Orestes fragment nor the Christian Hymn need offer any serious difficulties; but we shall be bound to revise our opinion about melic iambics such as are found in the Aidin inscription, and regard the second foot of such an iambic dipody as the weaker.

In the papyri there appear four other signs which are difficult to interpret. (1) In the Orestes fragment there appears,

oint, and Wagner obtains a consistent interpretation of the στιγμαί only by treating the last syllable of Ὀδυσέα as short. Reinach, on the other hand (*Rev. Archéol.* 1919, p. 12), quite neglects the στιγμαί: in his recent book (*La Mus. Gr.*, p. 204) he gives no clear indication of the rhythm.

[1] The editors of the *Oxyrh. Pap.* seem to favour this anapaestic interpretation; but in his transcription into modern notation Prof. Stuart Jones clearly regards the στιγμαί as indications of the weak part of the foot. Anapaestic rhythm is perhaps found in two other early Christian hymns (*Pap. Amh.* ii, and *Berl. Klass. Texte*, VI. vi. 8); but we have no sure ground for excluding dactylic rhythm from early Christian hymnology.

on a level with the text, at the end of the first dochmius of every line, a sign like a badly made Z with a dot over it. The most reasonable suggestion that has been made is that it indicates the end of a rhythmical phrase.[1] (2) In the Berlin papyrus, especially in the instrumental fragments, there is a mark like a colon (:). It also has been thought to indicate the end of a rhythmical phrase; but it appears again in the Christian Hymn, and there it clearly does not have such a function. Nor does it mark the beginning of the arsis or thesis of a foot; for in the Christian Hymn it is found before both parts of the foot. Nor was it used to separate notes which might conceivably have been grouped wrongly; for there are no such ambiguities possible in the Paean. From his transcription of the Christian Hymn in *La Musique Grecque* (p. 207), I judge that Reinach now takes this sign to indicate a very slight protraction of the preceding note. (3) In the instrumental pieces of the Berlin papyrus there is a sign like a pot-hook, between pairs of identical notes; it may have reference to the mode of performance.[2] (4) Before and after the words δεινῶν πόνων in the fifth line of the Orestes fragment there is a group of signs which may be fragments of the accompaniment (κροῦμα); but their relation to the rest of the piece has not been satisfactorily explained.

III. Just as the Hymns of Mesomedes, from a rhythmical point of view, seem a tiro's exercises beside the elaborations of the Berlin Paean, so, from a more narrowly musical point of view, they afford us so incomplete an idea of the resources of Greek melody that they have been thought forgeries on that account alone. But before turning to a detailed analysis of the keys and modes, some mention must be made of the relation between the words and the melody. It is well known that Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Comp. Verb.* 11) discusses Euripides' setting of the words in *Orestes*, 140–2, to illustrate his assertion that the words are subordinate to the tune, not

[1] Reinach (*La Mus. Gr.*, p. 75) regards it as equivalent to a pause of two χρόνοι πρῶτοι (-).

[2] Reinach and Wagner suggest the μελισμός and κομπισμός (cf. Bellermann's *Anonymous*, § 8). Abert, with some hesitation, would interpret the sign as a badly formed musical note.

the tune to the words. He points out that the words σῖγα σῖγα λευκόν are all sung to the same note, regardless of the accents, and that the first syllable of τίθετε is sung to the lowest pitch, despite the fact that it has an acute accent. Obviously, if the same melody were sung to the strophe and antistrophe of a choral ode, it would frequently happen that the rise and fall of the melody would be contrary to that of the pitch accents of the words; for strophic correspondence did not extend as far as identity of accentuation. Excepting the Orestes fragment, none of our remains belongs to poetic structures which involved strophe and antistrophe; and it is a remarkable fact that if the statement of Dionysius were entirely reversed, it would be more nearly applicable to the relation between word accents and melody in our fragments. Indeed, three general principles may be enunciated to cover the practice of the composers from whose works these new fragments are preserved. In the first place, a syllable which bears an acute accent is not lower in pitch than other syllables of the same word. In the Orestes papyrus there are two exceptions (*ματέρος* and *ὁ μέγας*); in the Aidin inscription there is only one exception (*ὅσον*, the first word); in the first Delphic Hymn *φερόπλοιο* is an exception; in the second Delphic Hymn *δικόρυφον*[1] has its last syllable sung to the highest note; in the Berlin Paean the acute is not only sung at a higher pitch than other syllables of a word, but is generally set to two rising notes; in the Christian Hymn the principle is generally observed;[2] only in the Ajax fragment is it more often broken than kept. The second principle is that a barytone syllable is not sung at a higher pitch than the succeeding acute accent, nor higher than the intervening atonics. Again, it is the Ajax fragment which affords the chief violations of this principle. The third principle concerns the circumflexed vowels, which are frequently set to a pair of descending notes. The two examples in the Orestes fragment

[1] Reinach's suggestion (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III. ii) that the musical setting of this word depicts the twin peaks of Parnassus is a little too fanciful.

[2] But the highest note in *φαεσφόρα* is on the first syllable; the last syllable of *ἅγιον* is the highest.

are set to a single note; in the Aidin inscription one is set to a single note and three to descending groups; in the first Delphic Hymn six descend, four are set to a single note, and one to a repeated note which was possibly performed as a tremolo. In the second Delphic Hymn the proportion is rather different; for six descend, while seven are set to a single note. In the Berlin Paean one is set to a rising group, two to a falling phrase, and five to a phrase which goes up and then down. The single circumflex (*Αἶαν*) found in the Ajax piece (which in other respects, as we have seen, differs from the remaining fragments) goes down and then up. In the Christian Hymn the circumflex in *ποταμῶν* is set to a rising phrase. How far these principles would apply to classical music we cannot say; but it would be strange if decadent movements developed in the direction of subordinating music to words. At any rate, the statement of Dionysius is something of a puzzle in view of our fragments. It would be unwise to conclude that such attention to the word accents restricted a composer's freedom to any great extent; it would probably be little more irksome than the necessity under which a modern English or German composer works of avoiding frequent clashes between the accent of his tune and the accent of the words.

As we glance through these fragments nothing appears so unsatisfactory as the lack of purely musical structure and form. In the music of Western Europe we are accustomed to a musical clarity and orderliness; themes and phrases are stated and balanced one with another, repeated, and variously embellished; the material with which a composition commences is essential to the proper understanding of the last bar, and the last bar is the appropriate conclusion of a definite sequence of musical thought. In Greek music, so far as we can judge, there were no themes and phrases, and no sequences of melody dictated by musical grammar and logic. The nearest approach which we can find to musical structure in accordance with our modern conceptions is in the repetition here and there of a cadence. In the first Delphic Hymn *ἀνακίδναται* is set to the same melodic figure as *ἀναμέλπεται*;

in the second Delphic Hymn the cadence at *Κεκροπίᾳ* is the same as that at *φιλένθεον*. But these phrases are not true themes; they are used only as a kind of musical formula which appropriately closes a section of a hymn and helps to define a modal scale.[1]

In one of the Aristotelian Problems (xix. 20) we are told that all good melodies return often to a note called the Mese. In the Dorian mode this note is the fifth descending, or the fourth ascending; and, if the statement of the Aristotelian problem is accurate, it must have had a function analogous to the tonic of a modern scale and acted as a tonal centre. Those of our fragments which are in the Dorian mode confirm this statement in a remarkable manner, whether we merely count the number of times this central note occurs in a melody and compare it with the occurrences of other notes, or whether we consider the matter from a more aesthetic standpoint and observe the note which is placed most frequently at the salient points of the melody. There is no doubt that the principle stated in the Problems applied to the other modes as well as the Dorian; but the exact position of the Mese in these other modes has been a matter of controversy.[2] The fragments seem to indicate that in all the diatonic modes, and in the Mixolydian chromatic, the fourth note ascending was the tonal centre. For the other chromatic and enharmonic modes we have no means of testing our theoretical conjectures.

Much light is thrown by these fragments on the use which was made of the various Greek scales. A Greek musician, as we learn from theoretical treatises, had at his disposal a number of modes (*ἁρμονίαι*, or *εἴδη τοῦ διὰ πασῶν*) which differed from one another in the order of the larger and smaller intervals of which they were composed; each mode, within limits, might be modified by decreasing the size of the smaller intervals and increasing the size of the larger, and so have

[1] Similar cadences will be found in the Aidin inscription and in the Berlin Paean.

[2] Cf. Macran, *Aristoxenus*, pp. 66 ff.; J. D. Denniston in *Class. Quart.* ii (1913), pp. 87 ff.; my own article in *Journ. Hell. Studies*, xl (1920), p. 33; and Reinach, *La Mus. Gr.*, pp. 39–44.

a diatonic, or a chromatic, or an enharmonic form;[1] furthermore, these modes could be sung or played in any one of a number of keys (*τόνοι*), that is to say, their absolute pitch might be varied.[2] With these resources at his command, a composer of Greek music could obtain very delicate effects within his melody, for which modern composers, with their harmonies, substitute effects of quite another order. We remember, too, that Plato and Aristotle are in agreement that the modes were not merely representations of character, but were capable of influencing character; and it will be interesting to trace in these fragments the extent to which the philosophers' statements about the appropriateness of certain modes to certain sentiments are confirmed.[3] For a consideration of these points the fragments will be considered separately.[4]

IV. *The Orestes fragment.* Aristoxenus tells us that the modes especially used in tragedy were the Dorian and the Mixolydian.[5] The Mixolydian was one which Plato associated with threnodies, the Dorian with nobility of character. But it is doubtful whether the mode of this piece is either.[6] For the sequence of musical signs is not found in any of the scales of Alypius, but is found in the old Phrygian which Aristides has preserved.[7] This Phrygian mode was one of the two which Plato was willing to retain for his ideal State; but it is also

[1] Taking the whole tone (1) as the unit of measurement, the ascending diatonic form of the Dorian will be: $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 1; the chromatic form will be: $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ 1$\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ 1$\frac{1}{2}$; the enharmonic will be: $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ 2 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ 1.

[2] We must always bear in mind, however, that few of the Greek intervals exactly correspond to the intervals which we find on a modern instrument such as the pianoforte (cf. *Class. Quart.* xvii, pp. 125 ff.). To play Greek melodies on such an instrument is an infallible method of obtaining a wrong impression of Greek music and of destroying just those nuances of intonation which were the very soul of the ancient art.

[3] In the *Republic* Plato speaks as if music had an inherent power to influence character and treats the *ἁρμονίαι* as if they were as important as the words of a poem. His attitude in the *Laws* is somewhat modified when he admits (699 D–E) that without words it is not always easy to understand what the rhythms and the *ἁρμονίαι* represent.

[4] E. Clements gives his subjective interpretations of some of the fragments in *Journ. Hell. Studies*, xlii (1922), pp. 162–6.

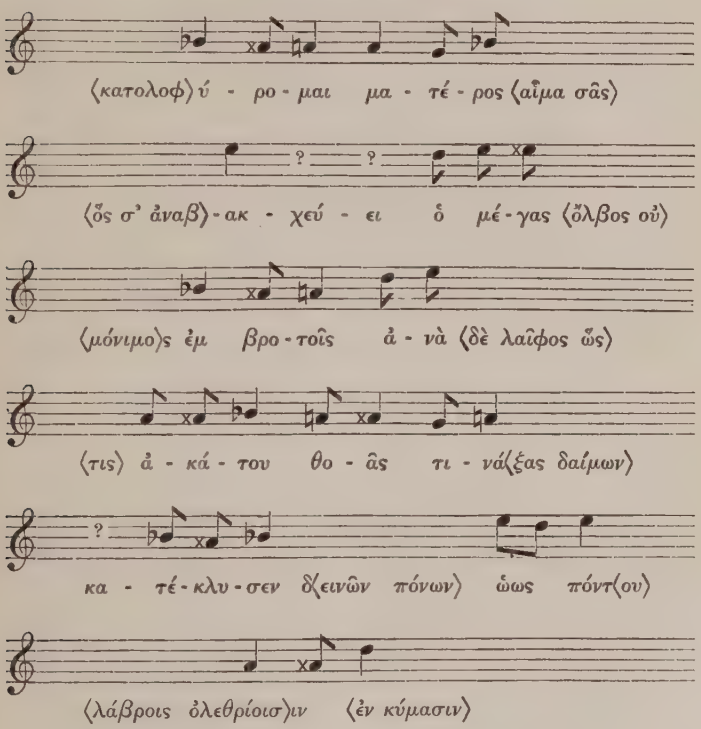
[5] In Plut. *De Musica*, xvi; cf. Aristot. *Prob.* xix. 30 and 48.

[6] Monro and others have tried to make out a case for considering this fragment as Dorian.

[7] For the use of the Phrygian by Sophocles see the statement of Aristoxenus at the end of the *Σοφοκλέους Βίος*.

the only one about which the opinion of Aristotle is deliberately at variance with that of Plato;[1] for Aristotle declares it to be of a strongly exciting and emotional nature. Its use in this fragment would seem to justify Aristotle's view. The genus is the enharmonic, which Aristoxenus considered the noblest of all.[2] Unfortunately the melody of this fragment is too discontinuous to be of more than antiquarian interest. In the following transcription a cross indicates that the pitch of the note before which it is placed is raised a quarter-tone.[3]

THE ORESTES FRAGMENT



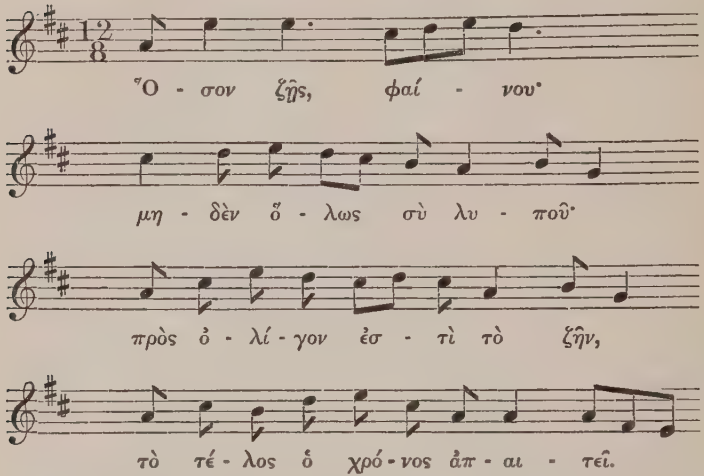
[1] *Politics* VIII. v. 1340[b] and vii. 1342[b].

[2] *Harmonics*, p. 23 Meib. C. von Jan treated it as enharmonic in *Musici Script. Gr.*; but in the later *Supplementum* he gave a chromatic interpretation.

[3] I omit the group of notes before and after δεινῶν πόνων. If they belonged to the accompaniment, as has been supposed, we cannot be certain of their exact relation to the vocal melody.

The Aidin inscription is set in the Ionian key, in the Phrygian mode, and in the diatonic genus. When we have made all allowances for the nuances which we cannot easily reproduce, this delightful baritone song, more than any other fragment of Greek music, would sound almost as if it had been written by one of the classical composers of Western Europe. A transcription follows.[1]

THE AIDIN INSCRIPTION.



The First Delphic Hymn. The τόνος is the Phrygian with occasional modulations to the Hyperphrygian and the Hypolydian keys. These modulations of key are generally accompanied by, and dictated by, a change of mode. The gaps in the melody are not so serious that we cannot attempt to define the modes and their appropriate cadences and modulations of genus.[2] The first main section is from ll. 1 to 7, in

[1] The conventions of our modern musical notation imply that an accent immediately follows a bar line. But the existence of a rhythmical accent (*ictus*) in Greek verse and music is not proved. The insertion of bar lines in a transcription therefore presupposes such an accent. Furthermore, most of the current transcriptions of the Aidin inscription manage to place this assumed accent on the *short* syllable of the iambus. We do sufficient violence to Greek music by translating it into our tempered scale ; trifling with bar lines is an additional and unnecessary injury.

[2] In these analyses of the Delphic Hymns the line references are to the edition of J. U. Powell, *Collect. Alex.*, pp. 141 and 149.

which we have an address to the Muses to assist in hymning the praises of Apollo. The Dorian diatonic mode is employed except for l. 3 (*μόλετε συνόμαιμον ἵνα Φοῖβον ᾠδαῖσι μέλψητε χρυσεοκόμαν*) where, for no obvious reason, the Lydian is employed. In ll. 8 to 11 the worship which Attica affords to Apollo is described, as far as the word *εὐχαῖσι*, in the Mixolydian diatonic. At this point there is a change to the sweet and effeminate chromatic genus. The mode also changes after *εὐχαῖσι* to the Dorian, though there is a brief modulation to the Mixolydian chromatic at *Τριτωνίδος δάπεδον ἄθραυστον*. Lines 12 and 13, with their reference to the aulos and the sweet lyre, are also set to the Dorian chromatic; this section is the most beautiful in the hymn. These Dorian chromatic passages are very interesting. The mode is clearly defined by the Mese; yet a leading note to the Mese, a semitone below, is frequently introduced, though it has no place in the mode proper. In this way three semitones are sung in succession, and the melodic sequence is in violation of one of the rules for Greek melody which we find laid down in Aristoxenus.[1] From ll. 14 to 21 the mode is for the most part the Mixolydian diatonic with occasional references to the Dorian diatonic. It may not be fanciful, in view of what Plato and Aristotle say about the *ἤθη* of the Mixolydian[2] and Dorian, to see in the frequent interchange between these modes in this Paean the representation of the courage and nobility of Apollo, and the tenseness of the struggle with the Python. The modes and genera alternate with some regard to the various sentiments of the hymn, but there is no consistent endeavour to emphasize individual words or phrases by cheap and trivial musical eccentricities. The Hymn is set as a whole rather than line by line, or word by word.

The Second Delphic Hymn. This Paean and Prosodion were written by the Athenian Limenius, who played as a citharist at the performance. The *τόνος* is the Lydian, with here and

[1] *Harm.*, p. 63 Meib. *Πυκνὸν δὲ πρὸς πυκνῷ οὐ μελῳδεῖται οὔθ' ὅλον οὔτε μέρος αὐτοῦ.*

[2] Notice that Aristotle (*Politics* VIII. v, 1340 b) uses two adverbs *ὀδυρτικωτέρως καὶ συνεστηκότως* of the Mixolydian and so broadens Plato's characterization of the mode (*Rep.* iii. 398 D) as *θρηνώδης*.

there a modulation to the Hypolydian. As in the first Hymn, the introductory address to the Muses (ll. 1 to 6) is written in the Dorian diatonic mode. The joy of nature at the birth of Apollo and his visit to Attica (ll. 7 to 12) are described in the Mixolydian diatonic, though the subject is neither threnodic nor exciting. The references to the Libyan aulos and the cithara, which sing the praises of the god (ll. 13 to 15) like the similar theme in the first Hymn, are set in a chromatic scale, this time the Mixolydian. There is a change to the diatonic form of the Mixolydian at the mention of the reverence accorded to Apollo in Attica, and his power over the tripod. From line 22 to line 33 Apollo's victory over the Python and the safety of his shrine from the attack of the Gauls are represented in the Mixolydian chromatic. The choice of mode is here not inappropriate. The Prosodion (from l. 33) is not well preserved, but it seems to be in the Dorian diatonic with which the Hymn commenced. The two most striking musical features of this Hymn are the curious Mixolydian cadence, which ends on the Mese, and the octave skips which mark the changes from Dorian to Mixolydian. We have already mentioned that the composition of this Hymn differs from that of the first in the relation of the melody to the accents; it is also noteworthy that Limenius is much fonder of setting several syllables to the same note; this persistent effect of monotone gives the Hymn a rather austere air. Reinach's transcriptions of both Hymns may conveniently be found in J. U. Powell's *Collectanea Alexandrina*.[1]

The Berlin Paean. This vocal piece is in the Hyperionian key and would be suitable for tenor voices. The range of the melody is one whole tone more than an octave; and from a consideration of the mere sequence of intervals the mode might be either Lydian or Phrygian. But when we consider the tonal centre and the cadences at sense pauses (e.g. at *Κρήτα, κράνας, λώβαν, βώλοις*), it becomes clear that the mode is Phrygian throughout. The extra-modal note is a tone below

[1] Detailed analyses of the Delphic Hymns may be found also in Phillips Barry's article on Greek Music in *Musical Quarterly*, 1919, pp. 592–7.

the hypate or final note of the mode, and very remarkably it is the note on which the hymn begins. At two cadences (e. g. *φωνάν*) the melody rests on the hypate for three *χρόνοι πρῶτοι*, and then touches this extra-modal note for a fourth *χρόνος πρῶτος* before the next phrase commences. This use of a note which does not properly belong to the mode is analogous to the use of a leading-note to the Mese in the chromatic sections of the first Delphic Hymn. These melodic features are probably indications of that decadence whose origin is associated with the name of Timotheus; and there is no doubt that, if they were excessively practised, their effect would be to destroy the individuality of the modes. Owing to the elaborate rhythmization of this fragment and the number of notes which are set to single syllables, we have here a piece of music which reminds us to some extent of a plain-song melody. To the dignity and poise of the two Delphic Hymns this Paean is a striking contrast; and, contrary to all expectation, it is written in a mode which Aristotle tells us was particularly suitable for a dithyramb.[1]

THE BERLIN PAEAN[2]

[1] *Politics* VIII. vii, 1342 [b].

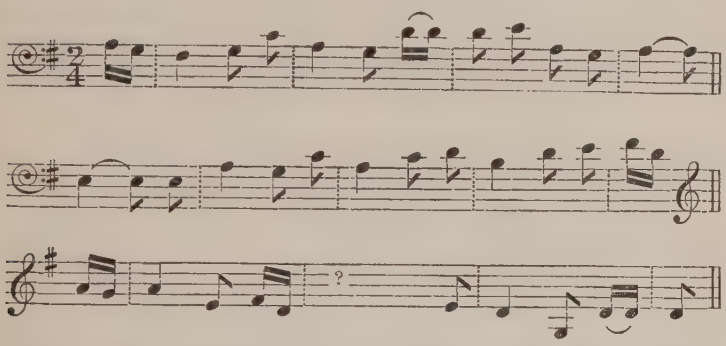
[2] The dotted lines are intended only to indicate where the individual feet commence; the double bar lines indicate the end of a line in the papyrus. At the beginning of the Paean, Reinach (*La Mus. Gr.*, p. 202) sets Παιάν

The First Instrumental Fragment, like the Paean, is in the Hyperionian key. The range of the melody is a perfect fourth in excess of an octave, and no one of three lines in the papyrus is complete. It is consequently not immediately clear

to two minims and 𝅝 to a minim followed by the two quavers; for this the papyrus seems to give no authority. The notes set to the first syllable of *ὕμνων* (l. 6) and the first syllable of *βώλοις* (l. 11) are not bound by a hyphen in the papyrus; a diseme mark should probably be restored over the first two notes of l. 4.

in what mode the piece is composed. Wagner decides in favour of the Phrygian; Reinach has not expressed his opinion. But the predominance at salient rhythmical points of notes which stand in the relation of Mese and Nete (the upper octave of the Hypate) seems to indicate that the mode is really the Hypophrygian, one of the *ἁρμονίαι χαλαραί* to which Plato refers under the name of Ionian.[1]

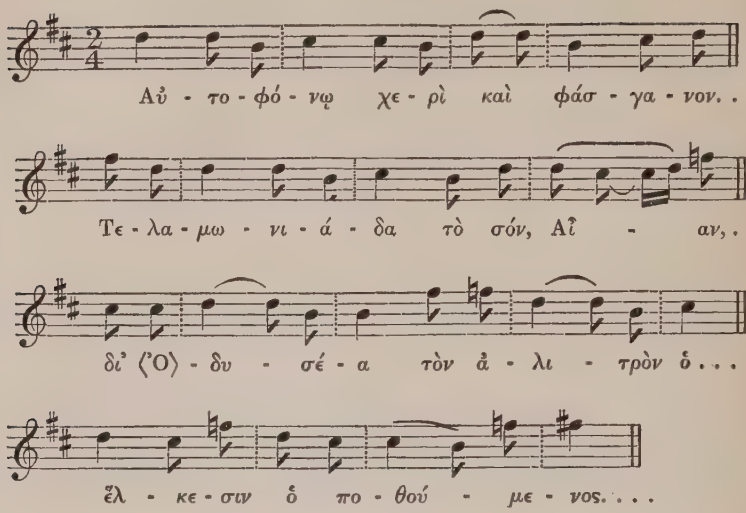
THE FIRST INSTRUMENTAL FRAGMENT



The Ajax Fragment is not easy to analyse with any certainty. The range of melody is circumscribed, and the musical signs seem to be a mixture from the Ionian, the Hyperionian, and Hyperaeolian keys. The modal scale is equally indefinite since it seems to be derived from a Lydian diatonic tetrachord joined to a Dorian chromatic tetrachord. Such a scale was formerly identified by Th. Reinach with an old form of the Mixolydian.[2] The pitch is high, and the piece must have been intended for soprano singers. This, together with the mode and the chromatic element in the scale, seems to be proper to the *ἦθος* of the words. The vital word *Αἶαν* is set, contrary to the accent, as a rising phrase, and its first syllable occupies almost a whole foot.

[1] For this identification see Boeckh, *De Metris Pindari*, II. viii.
[2] In his edition of Plutarch's *De Musica*, § 156; but both tetrachords are there given as diatonic.

THE AJAX FRAGMENT



The Second Instrumental Fragment is in the Hyperionian key, as is the first instrumental piece. Its mode is Hypophrygian.[1]

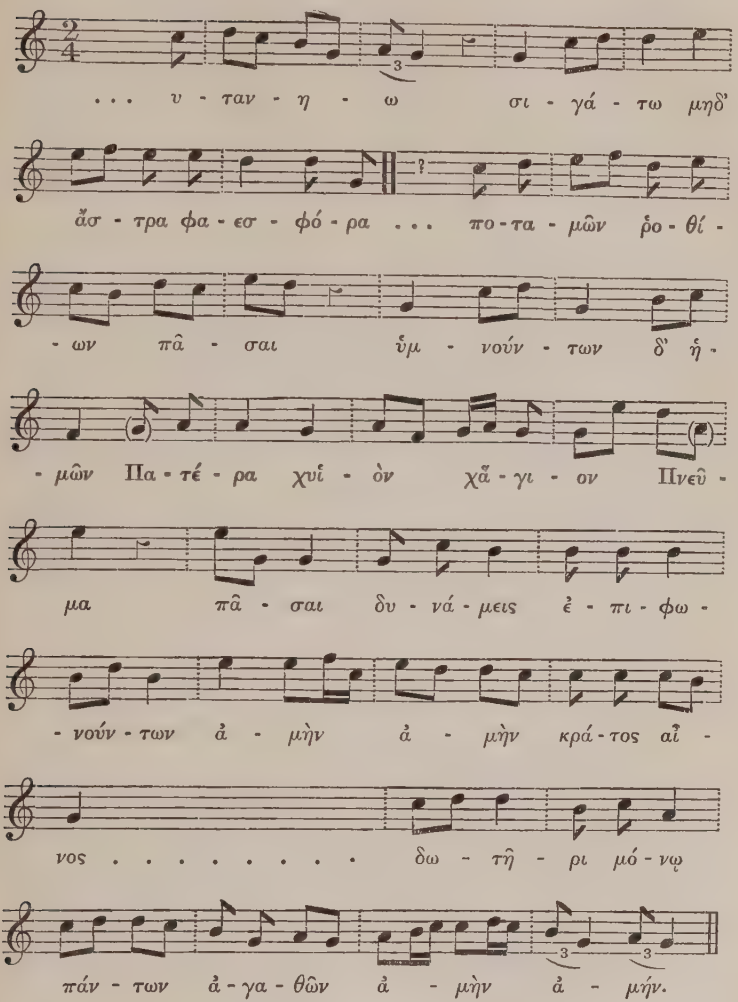
The Christian Hymn, for male voices, is in the Hypolydian key, and its mode is Hypophrygian diatonic. The predominance of the Mese is very evident throughout. In two cases, as in the Berlin Paean, use is made of a note a tone below the true Hypate of the mode; but it is always in an unimportant

[1] I offer no transcription of this piece, which Wagner describes as 'eine Perle von hellstem Glanz'. The opening line is:

Translated into our symbols this would be (disregarding the pitch):

Rhythm cannot be obtained from this sequence if we pay any attention to the *στιγμαί*. Wagner has disregarded the hyphens as well as the *στιγμαί*; his transcription is largely an essay in original composition. Reinach's two versions (*Rev. Archéol.* 1919, p. 12 and *La Mus. Gr.*, p. 206) differ considerably from each other. The rhythmical notation of the lyric line which follows this instrumental piece is equally chaotic. We can suppose either that we have been mistaken in the interpretation of the notation in all the preceding fragments, or that the scribe of the Berlin papyrus grew careless. The explanation, I think, lies in the second alternative.

The Christian Hymn



position rhythmically, and is followed immediately by the Hypate. The melody is half declamatory and half melismatic; in style it approaches most nearly to the Aidin inscription. Possibly the most interesting point about this Hymn is that it affords evidence that, even if the early Christians at first modelled their music on Jewish Psalmody, they had abandoned it even before the more wealthy classes joined the new religion in considerable numbers. Already in the earlier centuries the Christians were making use of a type of music to which their proselytes were accustomed.

V. Besides the papyri just discussed which contain fragments of the actual music, there are three others which deal with matters of musical interest. Among the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vol. i. 9)[1] there is an invaluable fragment of the third century A. D., containing five columns, of which the first is almost wholly destroyed, and the fifth alone has its full complement of lines. The general theme of the fragment is the manner in which a certain group of syllables (λέξις) of the form – ∪ – may be employed in various rhythms. In col. ii its use in the iambic dactyl (*δάκτυλος ὁ κατ' ἴαμβον*), which is the Aristoxenian term for the diiambus,[2] is illustrated by a few fragments of a Dionysiac character. The chief of these illustrations is:

> *ἔνθα δὴ ποικίλων ἀνθέων ἄμβροτοι λείμακες*
> *βαθύσκιον παρ' ἄλσος ἀβροπαρθένους*
> *εὐιώτας χόρους ἀγκάλαις δέχονται.*

The first five feet are constituted by three syllables of a cretic form, and clearly the first long syllable of each of these feet has the value of three *χρόνοι πρῶτοι*.[3] In col. iii we have examples of the use of a similar group in the Aristoxenian

[1] Cf. J. U. Powell, *Collect. Alex.*, pp. 192–3 for excerpts from this document.

[2] Cf. Aristides Quint., p. 39 Meib., *δάκτυλος κατ' ἴαμβον ὃς σύγκειται ἐξ ἰάμβου θέσεως καὶ ἰάμβου ἄρσεως*. According to this nomenclature, any foot which falls into two similar halves may be called dactylic.

[3] For the relation of this evidence to the theory of 'iambic' protraction see J. W. White (*Verse of Greek Com.*, § 780).

bacchius, a foot which is now known as the choriamb.[1] In the case of

⟨ὦ⟩ φίλον ὥραισιν ἀγάπημα θνατοῖσιν ἀνάπαυμα μόχθων,

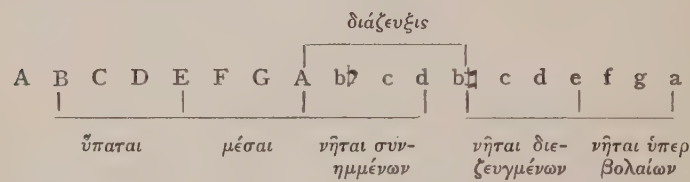
by protracting the first long syllable of a cretic group (*-αισιν αγα-*), we have the equivalent of a choriamb. In the fourth column the paeon itself is discussed, apparently from the point of view of resolution. Clearly a cretic syllable group is especially appropriate to such a rhythm; but owing to gaps before and after this column, we cannot see how the various topics of the discussion were connected at this point. In col. v the author inquires whether a group of syllables of the form ⏑ – ⏑ could be used in a dactylic passage, a group of the form – ⏑ ⏑ in an anapaestic passage, and pairs of iambi or pairs of trochees in the same metres.[2] The language of this fragment is in some points similar to that of Aristoxenus. We notice especially the use of *ξύν* for *σύν* and the verbal adjective *ἐατέον*. Though Aristoxenus was not the only one to write crabbed Greek, the style in general resembles his. The naming of the various feet also shows similarity with what we know of his nomenclature. Yet it is not likely that we have here a fragment of the *Ῥυθμικὰ Στοιχεῖα*; for the use of *μονόχρονον* (col. iii, l. 12) to indicate, not a *χρόνος πρῶτος*, but a single syllable, and the use of *τῇ τετραχρόνῳ κρητικῇ λέξει* (col. v, ll. 11–12) to mean a ditrochee of four syllables, are both totally at variance with the careful terminology of Aristoxenus in his mature and serious work. Our fragment is either from an early work on rhythm written before Aristoxenus realized the necessity for accurate and strict terms, or from some popular book like the *Συμμικτὰ Συμποτικά*. But whoever the author may be, the fragment is of great importance. From cols. ii and iii we learn again, what the musical fragments plainly indicate, that a long syllable was sometimes more than double the length of a short; and if it is not rash to press the impli-

[1] Cf. Aristides, p. 37 M *σύνθετοι δὲ οἱ κατὰ συζυγίαν, βακχεῖοι δύο, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρότερον ἔχει τὸν ἴαμβον, δεύτερον δὲ τὸν τροχαῖον, ὁ δὲ ἐναντίως.*

[2] On this fragment see especially the articles of C. von Jan in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1899, pp. 475 and 508; and of Wilamowitz in *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 698.

cations of col. v, it seems that variations of *tempo* might be made to such an extent that an iambic dipody might appear in an anapaestic passage, and occupy only four χρόνοι πρῶτοι.

Another of the papyri from Oxyrhynchus (vol. iv. 667), dating from the third century A. D., contains thirty complete lines in which musical scales are analysed. The writer discusses a heptachord scale formed by two tetrachords conjoined in such a way that the top note of the one is the lowest note of the other. From the first words of the fragment it seems that a diatonic form for such a heptachord was either definitely specified, or definitely excluded; but our text does not indicate which alternative was in the mind of the author; a satisfactory solution of the problems involved seems to demand a diatonic form. The author then turns to the Greater Perfect System, which was a theoretical scale with a compass of two octaves :—



He points out that in this scale only one pair of tetrachords (*μέσαι* and *νῆται* ⟨*διεζευγμένων*⟩) is separated by a disjunctive tone (*διάζευξις*), whereas there are three pairs conjoined on the principle of *συναφή*. The sequence of thought invites us to supply the conclusion that the heptachord with which we began is to be found thrice in the Greater Perfect System (i. e. *ὕπαται* + *μέσαι*; *μέσαι* + *συνημμέναι*; *διεζευγμέναι* + *ὑπερβολαῖαι*). The next step is to add the interval of a whole tone at the bottom of the original heptachord. The octachord so formed will be found thrice within the Greater Perfect System (i. e. tone + *ὕπαται* + *μέσαι*; tone + *μέσαι* + *συνημμέναι*; tone + *διεζευγμέναι* + *ὑπερβολαῖαι*).[1] There is a strong probability

[1] This fragment is not free from obscurities of thought and language. Lines 13–16 do not show a master of style; in l. 22 *ἐπὶ τούτῳ* would be clearer than *ἐπὶ τούτοις*, for although, as *ὀκταχόρδου* shows, these words refer to the heptachord, the heptachord itself was apparently referred

that this fragment is from one of the works of Aristoxenus. From p. 6 of his *Ἁρμονικὰ Στοιχεῖα* it is clear that he intended to analyse all scales with some fullness, and from p. 58 to the end of the extant fragments we have analyses of scales which are as tortuous and pedantic as this newer one. Another feature of the fragment confirms this ascription. The word *νῆται* is used without any qualification for both the tetrachords *συνημμένων* and *διεζευγμένων*. Other theorists, even of the school of Aristoxenus himself, seem always to specify the particular tetrachord by writing *νητῶν συνημμένων* or *νητῶν ὑπερβολαίων*. If any word is omitted by these later writers it is *νητῶν*. But in Aristoxenus himself we find this same indefinite usage of *νῆται* (e. g. p. 40). All that we obtain from this fragment is an additional example of the style and method of Aristotle's pupil. It adds nothing to our knowledge of Greek musical theory.

Among the *Hibeh Papyri* (vol. i. 13), dating from the third century B. C., there are two consecutive and nearly complete columns of a discourse on music. The subject-matter is of unusual interest when brought into relation with the views of Plato and Aristotle on the value of the art and its influence. The writer of this discourse attacks those who distinguish the *ἤθη* of melodies, and believe that music makes men *ἐγκρατεῖς*, *φρονίμους*, *δικαίους*, *ἀνδρείους*, or *δειλούς*. That the enharmonic

to previously as *σύστημα*, not as *δύο τετράχορδα*. The *γάρ* in l. 23 is almost certainly an error for *δέ*. The chief discussions of the fragment have not always been happy. The Oxyrhynchus editors and Prof. Macran assumed in their translation that the diatonic was excluded; yet they printed the Greater Perfect System in the diatonic form, and added to the reader confusion by overlooking a serious misprint (B sharp for B natural at the *διάζευξις*). They take *τόπῳ τινι* as an indirect interrogative and are consequently compelled to insert a *μή* before *σημαίνειν*. In line 23 *γάρ* is rendered 'then', as if it were *οὖν*. Finally, as a result of their first assumption, they are bound to insert *δυοῖν* before *τῶν εἰρημένων*. C. E. Ruelle (*Revue de Philol.* xxix. 201–4) is in general nearer the truth. But he errs in describing one of the octave scales as tone + *μέσαι* + *διεζευγμέναι*. Forgetting the words *ἐπὶ τὸ βαρύ*, he inquires why the octave B–b♮ is not considered. *ἔστω* he regards as 'l'énoncé d'une règle'; *ἔσται* he translates as *est*. Now if we turn to the third book of the Harmonics, where Aristoxenus analyses scales, we find that the imperative is used to introduce a premise and the consequence is introduced by *ἔσται δέ*. If in the new fragment we change *γάρ* to *δέ* we not only have a normal Aristoxenian sequence, but we make the passage intelligible, consistent with itself, and in accordance with the facts.

genus does not make men brave, he says, may be seen from the case of the Aetolians who use a diatonic music only, and are nevertheless braver than the tragedians who always sing enharmonic scales. Such theorists as make these statements about the ἤθη of melodies are incompetent performers who waste their lives over strings, play worse than the harpists, and sing worse than the singers. They fall into ecstacies and compare tunes with natural objects.

There can be no doubt of the antiquity of the fragment. The enharmonic is spoken of as in use, though Aristoxenus speaks of it as scarcely used and going out of fashion in his own day.[1] In tone, the diatribe is parallel to the Herculanean fragments of Philodemus' *Περὶ Μουσικῆς*, and represents a reaction against the mysticism of the Pythagoreans, which influences Plato and, to some extent, even Aristotle. Indeed, the chief person attacked may be Damon, the acquaintance of Socrates, who made a speech to the Areopagus on music and believed in the effect of music on character.[2] It is not easy, however, to identify the actual author. Blass and Ruelle have suggested that we have the beginning of a speech by the versatile sophist Hippias of Elis, who certainly discoursed on music;[3] and the reference to the Aetolians would be appropriate from his lips. Crönert, however, mainly from considerations of style, has attributed the fragment to one of the earliest members of the school of Isocrates.[4] He believes that it is part of a speech delivered perhaps at an Olympic festival about the year 390 B. C., and that the person attacked was not Damon, but one of his followers.[5]

These new fragments of actual music and musical treatises have added very considerably to our knowledge of the practice of the art in post-classical times. In some details their evidence surprises and even perplexes us; but at many points they indubitably confirm and illustrate what we already knew

[1] *Harm.*, p. 23 Meib.
[2] Cf. Aristides Quint., p. 95 Meib.
[3] Cf. Plato, *Hipp. Mai.* 285 E; *Hipp. Min.* 364 A.
[4] *Hermes*, xliv (1909), 503–21: 'Die Hibehrede über die Musik'.
[5] The fragment speaks of *ἁρμονικοί*, whereas Damon himself is usually referred to as *μουσικός*.

or surmised. The dates of the fragments, however, warn us not to draw sweeping conclusions about the classical art. Further discoveries may still compel us to revise many of the current conjectures.

Bibliographical Note

All the chief articles relating to these musical fragments are mentioned in the foot-notes at appropriate places. Complete bibliographies may be found in *Bursians Jahresbericht*, vol. civ (by C. von Jan, pp. 1 ff.), vol. cxviii (by L. Graf, pp. 212 ff.), vol. cxliv (by H. Abert, pp. 1 ff.), and vol. cxciii (by H. Abert, pp. 1 ff.). Th. Reinach's brilliantly concise *La Musique Grecque* (1926) surveys the whole field of ancient music. See also Marouzeau, *Dix Années de Bibliographie Classique* (1928), pp. 593–5.

J. F. M.

MEDICINE: THE *'IATPIKA* OF MENON

Anonymi Londinensis Iatrica.

Galen,[1] commenting upon the Hippocratic *Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου*, advises those who want to know the *δόξαι* of ancient physicians on this subject to read the *'Ιατρικὴ συναγωγή* ascribed to Aristotle,[2] but really by his pupil Meno, and called by some *Μενώνεια* (*βιβλία*). It is obvious, he adds, that Meno had made careful investigation of all the documents then extant which he could get hold of.[3] When, therefore, Sir F. Kenyon announced (1892) that the British Museum possessed a papyrus of nearly 3,000 lines, about half of which seemed to consist of extracts from these Menonia, students of medical history looked eagerly forward to the early appearance of an important section of the first and most highly recommended work on their subject. The first of these prospects was the only one realized.

Hermann Diels (the authority on *δόξαι*), assisted by Sir F. Kenyon (and unexpectedly clear weather in London), produced in 1893 an admirable edition of the mutilated and barely legible papyrus. The title is missing, but, as the writer is still defining his terms, probably not much more. He has explained what *διάθεσις* means, and proceeds to apply it to

[1] 13. 25, Kühn.
[2] *τὰς τῆς 'Ιατρικῆς Συναγωγῆς βίβλους.*
[3] *ἀναζητήσας ἐπιμελῶς.*

mind and body respectively. A mysterious ἐντρέχεια is apparently the best he can make of the Aristotelian ἐντελέχεια (adding, with probable relief, that it doesn't concern him). Then comes a slightly confused classification of πάθος, νόσος, νόσημα, ἀρρώστημα, ἀρρωστία.

After this there is a short sub-title in which the only legible word is νόσοι. Diels suggests κατὰ πλάτος for the rest, but the δόξαι which follow deal exclusively with the aetiology of diseases. Of the nineteen physicians mentioned (including Philolaus) no less than seven were previously unknown: Euryphon of Cnidus, Herodicus of Cnidus, Hippocrates, *Alcamenes of Abydos*, *Timotheus of Metapontum*, *A. as* (? Abas, Aias), *Heracleodorus*, Herodicus of Selymbria, *Minyas* of Egypt, Hippon of Croton, *Thrasymachus of Sardis*, Dexippus of Cos, *Phasilas of Tenedos*, Aegimius of Elis, Plato, Philolaus of Croton, Polybus, Menecrates called ὁ Ζεύς, Petron of Aegina, and Philistion. Two names we should expect to find, Diocles and Praxagoras, are missing, but there is a mutilated portion which may have contained one of them. The list is divided into two unequal parts: (1) those who attribute diseases to περισσώματα or superfluities arising from food, which include all down to Aegimius; (2) those who attribute them mainly to changes in the στοιχεῖα or elements of the body. They are separated by a long account of the medical views of Plato, probably not from Meno, for it comprises an abstract of all his medical doctrines taken from the *Timaeus*, and begins with a distinction between σύνφθαρσις, μῖξις, διάκρασις equally attributed to him, but corresponding closely with views ascribed by Arius Didymus to the Stoics.[1]

The medical historian is surprised to find Hippocrates and his son-in-law Polybus separated as far as possible, though Galen tells us[2] that the latter carried on the teaching of his predecessor without alteration; and he is still more surprised by the treatment of Hippocrates himself. Aristotle, who called Hippocrates 'the Great', is made to assert that he attributed diseases almost entirely to the conversion of περισσώματα into flatus. This view is supported by quotations from the Περὶ

[1] ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 1. 17. [2] 15. 12.

φυσῶν, a treatise which appears to us to be a sophistic *ἐπίδειξις* or show speech, probably by a layman, and one of the most glaringly spurious works in the 'Corpus'. Even *Anon.* was astonished, and he treats the matter not inappropriately by saying, *καὶ ὡς μὲν ὁ 'Αριστοτέλης οἴεται περὶ 'Ιπποκράτους, ταῦτα. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς 'Ιπποκράτης λέγει.* . . . He then gives some abstracts from *Περὶ νούσων* (l. 2 f.) and *Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου* (9) which he proposes to criticize further in the sequel.

A reader of *Anon.*—though perhaps not of Meno—who knew nothing about Philolaus would suppose that he was a physician, the first who attributed disease to changes in the *στοιχεῖα*, and that he got his ideas from Plato.

Suspicion might be aroused by the absence of any mention of *στοιχεῖα* among his *δόξαι*, which were that diseases are due to bile, blood, or phlegm, and to excess or defect in food and warmth. He further held that phlegm is hot, as its name indicates, and that bile has no special connexion with the liver, but is an *ἰχὼρ τῆς σαρκός*. Diels connects the statement about phlegm with that made by Prodicus, who said it ought to be called *βλέννα*, and not *φλέγμα*, since it is not hot. Philolaus was therefore perhaps a follower of Prodicus, and of later date than that usually accepted. The two views, however, are clearly not quite the same.

Though the mention of Aristotle as the source of these *δόξαι* is sufficient evidence that they are derived from Meno, the samples given above raise doubts as to how far he is quoted directly or verbally. It is hard to believe that Galen would have praised the Menonia if they had been written in this style. The latest authority mentioned in the papyrus is Alexander Philalethes, who flourished at Laodicea about the year one and wrote a treatise, *Περὶ ἀρεσκόντων* or *'Αρέσκοντα* (*τοῖς ἰατροῖς*), on medical *δόξαι*, probably derived in part from the Menonia. The style of *Anon.* is similar to that of a surviving fragment of Alexander. Diels and Ilberg, therefore, suggest that our papyrus is based on the *'Αρέσκοντα*, Meno being quoted at second or third hand.[1]

[1] *Hermes*, xxviii. 414.

There is, however, a distinct break at the end of the above list, which evidently includes only physicians and philosophers known to Meno-Aristotle. Alexander probably carried it on to his own times.

There is also a mutilation of the papyrus at this point, and when *Anon.* again becomes intelligible, he is discussing the development of physiology after B. C. 300, from Herophilus to Alexander. He calls it *οἰκονομία*, and treats it appropriately as a balance of bodily income and out-goings. The most interesting novelty is an account of an experiment by Erasistratus who, by weighing birds or small animals kept for some time *ἐν λέβητι*, proved that there was a large invisible *ἀποφορά* besides the obvious excreta. There is also a short excursus on sleep and waking taken from Aristotle, but with the further information that 'Aristotle praises himself for having gone beyond his predecessors in explaining the latter as well as the former!'

Anon. opposes all authorities, from Hippocrates to Alexander, with a fine variety of disapproval. Hippocrates *ψεύδεται* and *οὐκ ὑγιῶς ποιεῖ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν*: an argument of the Empirics is *μωρός τε καὶ ἀπατητικός*. Herophilus *οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐποίησεν . . .*, arguments of Erasistratus and his followers are *νωθρά* or *λίαν νωθρά*, those of Asclepiades and his disciples, including Alexander, are *γελοῖα*; the Philalethes is also wrong about digestion.

We conclude that *Anon.* is either another 'Friend of Truth', with a standpoint of his own (i. e. an Eclectic), or a Methodist. It depends on whether he believed in the existence of invisible pores, and attributed disease mainly to their abnormal constriction and relaxation, the doctrine of the Methodic School. He seems at first to take these pores for granted, but we suddenly find him calling an argument of Asclepiades that, because we catch a chill after a hot bath, there must be dilated pores which admit the cold air, *γελοῖον*. It is necessary to prove the existence of pores first. Then follow some mutilated arguments to this effect, and the papyrus concludes *φανερὸν τοιγάρτοι ἐκ τούτων καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων, ὡς λόγῳ θεωρητοὶ πόροι εἰσὶν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ παντὶ ζῴῳ*—but it is still not quite

certain whether this is some one else's opinion, which he is going to call γελοῖον, or his own, which he is going to make the basis of his pathology on methodic principles.

Diels, in agreement with Sir F. Kenyon, believes the papyrus to be not later than the second century A. D., probably its earlier part. It is, he thinks, neither original nor one of many copies made for sale, but has been transcribed for private use from an earlier and not very legible document by a person of moderate culture—mistakes and corrections are numerous; the original may therefore date from the early part of the first century A. D. and be by some one of repute, though the treatise itself warns us that persons of repute for centuries may now be entirely unknown.

Max Wellmann, whose services to medical history include a brilliant demonstration that *Anonymus Parisinus* is the physician Herodotus, has recently tried to show that *Anonymus Londinensis* is the still more famous Soranus of Ephesus.[1]

He argues that the writer was a Methodist, not of the old bigoted school of Themison and Thessalus, but one of the younger race who mixed their methodism with pneumatic and eclectic doctrines. These eclectic Methodists were especially fond of works of the *Isagoge* type—*Introductions* to the art with ὅροι and ἀρέσκοντα—and the foremost writer of this kind of literature was Soranus, who composed a medical history in ten books. We have a spurious medieval *Isagoge* attributed to him, and there was doubtless a genuine one. May not, he asks, *Anon. Lond.* be a fragment of this?

Wellmann's most interesting and novel argument is a supposed quotation by Galen. In *Meth. Med.* 2. 5 (x. 107) Galen is (he says) reproaching the Methodists for their neglect of theory, 'they are content to say that artery, vein, nerve are elementary parts (στοιχεῖα) in human physiology: καί τις ἐπῄνεσεν ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἡρόφιλον εἰπόντα κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως· "λεγέσθω ταῦτ' εἶναι πρῶτα, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἔστι πρῶτα." Similarly *Anon.* (xxi. 21) says ἁπλᾶ καὶ σύνθετα (parts of the body) λαμβάνομεν πρὸς αἴσθησιν καθὼς καὶ Ἡρόφιλος ἐπισημιοῦται, λέγων οὕτως· λεγέσθω δὲ τὰ φαινόμενα πρῶτα, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔστιν

[1] *Hermes*, xl. 580 sqq.; ib. lvii. 397 sqq.

πρῶτα. Wellmann thinks this is clearly Galen's source, and that τις must be Soranus, the one Methodist whom he respected and whom he therefore refrains from naming in connexion with an attack upon his sect. This is very ingenious, but the weak point is that the quotation seems one that must have been frequently used by empirics, eclectics, Herophilians, &c.

Further, he points out that *Anon.* has some picturesque similes, one comparison (that of the intestines to a winding stream influenced by the places through which it flows) being remarkably similar to passages in the recognized work of Soranus.

Comparison of language and style, he suggests, gives support to the theory, though for that, and for the full appreciation of other points, the reader must refer to the original article.

His conclusion is that our papyrus is probably an almost contemporary copy of the introductory lecture given by Soranus at Alexandria, the Museum authorities allowing so eminent a man temporary use of that rarity of literature, the *Μενώνεια*. Misunderstandings and errors may be due to the moderate intelligence of the Student, explanations and repetitions to the courtesy of the Lecturer, who afterwards published an authorized edition of the whole which was known to Galen. If one ventures to say that the argument seems less conclusive than that in the case of *Anonymus Parisinus*, this is no reproach to the distinguished scholar, who is obviously much less convinced of the truth of his hypothesis than he was with regard to *Anon. Paris.*: for, while he entitles his former article, with proud and well-justified confidence, 'Herodots Werk περὶ τῶν ὀξέων καὶ χρονίων νοσημάτων;' he calls this one merely 'Der Verfasser des Anonymus Londinensis'.[1]

[1] See below, p. 224, for his latest view in *Hermes*, lxi. 333.

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E. T. W.

APPENDICES

I

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE POETRY OF THE HESIODIC SCHOOL

CONTENTS: The new fragments examined; general characteristics and range of Hesiodic poetry: its origins: continuity of settlements: oracular sites: temples, Ἀγῶνες: the existence and knowledge of writing: notes: selected bibliography.

i

THE works of Hesiod and the Hesiodic School of poetry have, within the last few years, attracted considerable attention from British scholars chiefly in regard to anthropology and early Greek thought and history. Hence attention has been given rather to the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*, and particularly to the latter poem, which has overshadowed the others from its greater interest. But although there are many papyri that contain parts of the poems which we already possess, and from which improvements in the vulgate may be derived (for instance, *Theogony* 131, 239; *Opera* 262, 362, 709; *Scutum* 15, 434), there are many new pieces. These come from the *Κατάλογος Γυναικῶν* and from the *Ἠ Οἷαι*, a poem which is usually thought to be the concluding part of the *Κατάλογος*.

It is better to use the term 'poetry of the Hesiodic or Boeotian School' than 'the poetry of Hesiod', because of the uncertainty in which the authorship of the poems is involved. That different views were held is shown by the information which Pausanias received at Thespiae about the traditions preserved by the Boeotians of Helicon.

It runs thus in Pausanias:[1] 'The Boeotians who live round

[1] Paus. ix. 31. 4. 'They were a corporation, whose title was Συνθύται Μουσῶν Ἡσιοδείων, who owned the land at Thespiae which contained the sacred spots.' T. W. Allen, *Homer*, p. 48.

Helicon tell their tradition that Hesiod composed nothing but the *Works*; and even from that they strike out the preliminary address to the Muses, and maintain that the poem begins with the passage about the Strifes. They showed me also beside the spring a leaden tablet, very time-worn, on which are engraved the "Works".'

'There is', he continues, 'another opinion, quite distinct from the former, that Hesiod composed πολύν τινα ἐπῶν ἀριθμόν, ἐς γυναῖκάς τε ἀδόμενα, [καὶ] (om. Schleiermacher, *al.*) ἃς Μεγάλας ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἠοίας, a *Theogony*, a poem on the soothsayer Melampus, a poem on the descent of Theseus and Pirithous to Hell, Precepts of Chiron for the instruction of Achilles, and various other poems besides the *Works and Days*. Those who hold this view also say that Hesiod was taught soothsaying by the Acarnanians; and there is a poem on soothsaying, which I have myself read, and a work on the interpretation of prodigies.'

The large number of accessions that have lately been made to the works of the Hesiodic school mostly come from Oxyrhynchus, and nearly all have been published in the series of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, the *Berlin Classical Texts*, and the publications of the Italian Society. The majority of the papyri are of the second or third centuries A. D. A few are of the first and of the fourth or fifth centuries, but clearly the works of the Hesiodic school were favourites in Egypt in the age of the Antonines. The chief work upon them in England has been done by Mr. H. G. Evelyn-White in the *Classical Quarterly* (vols. 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 18), and his untimely death is a great loss to British scholarship. He made many excellent suggestions for the reconstruction of the text, and would probably have carried his work further. He incorporated the accessions in his edition of Hesiod in the Loeb Series (1920), and shortly before him Rzach had incorporated all that had been found up to that time in the third edition of his text with Apparatus Criticus (1913). I give references to both editions. The longest passages containing the whole or parts of more than 150 lines (*E-W. 68*, *Rz. 94. 96*) and traces of 37 more, were first published in the *Berlin Classical Texts*, v. 1, 28

and 31. The first portion, 106 lines, we may call 'The Wooing of Helen'. It gives the names of many of the wooers, and little appears to have been lost at the beginning.

The names of the suitors of Helen, who is called as beautiful as Aphrodite, *Χαρίτων ἀμαρύγματ' ἔχουσα*, differ somewhat from those in Apollodorus, iii. 107 and Hyginus, 81. Sir James Frazer has pointed out (*Apollodorus*, Loeb Library, vol. ii, p. 27) in an amusing way that the poet does not confine himself to a bare list of names; he contrives to hit off the different characters of the suitors, by describing the different manners of their wooing. Thus the canny and thrifty Odysseus brought no wedding presents, because he was quite sure that he had no chance of winning the lady. On the other hand, the bold Ajax was extremely liberal with his offer of other peoples' property; he promised to give magnificent presents in the shape of sheep and oxen, which he proposed to lift from the neighbouring coasts and islands. Idomeneus sent no one to woo the lady for him (as Agamemnon did for Menelaus), 'but came himself, trusting apparently to the strength of his personal attractions to win her heart'. He may also have trusted to his distinguished descent, for the poet describes him as being of the stock of Minos. Mention is made of the oath which at Odysseus' suggestion Tyndareus took of the suitors. The form of the oath, as other authorities give it, is that the suitors would defend the winner of Helen if he were wronged (Apollod. iii. 10. 8). The motive which prompted Odysseus —that he might have Tyndareus' help in winning Penelope— was perhaps given in the previous lines which are lost. But here the oath is put more precisely: if any suitor ran away with her, they would all start forth to make him pay the penalty. Achilles, the poet continues, was still a boy under Chiron's instruction, but neither Menelaus nor any other man would have won Helen's hand, if Achilles had found her unwedded when he had left Chiron and returned home: but she was already married to Menelaus'.

At this point the story ends, and the papyrus has B in the margin, which marks the beginning of another book. Helen is said to have given birth to Hermione, and then the

argument becomes obscure. Apparently there is a digression. Zeus was minded:

μεῖξαι κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν
τυρβασίας, ἤδη δὲ γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
πολλὸν ἀϊστῶσαι σπεῦδε.

He plans to make an end of the demigods, that there may be no more intermingling of the divine and human races. Then apparently Apollo is introduced; and there follows an account of the affliction of men by unseasonable storms which destroy the fruits of the earth, 'at the season when the Hairless One (the snake) brings forth its young, three in every third year'. The new word ἄτριχος reminds us of the other Hesiodic words, the Boneless and the House-carrier. Then follows some natural history on the habits of the snake. Mr. Evelyn-White finds further a similarity with the description of the month Lenaeon in *Works*, 504 sqq., which appears to indicate that the author of the fragment used that poem.

E-W. 7, *Rz.* 7 *b* contains a reference to the story of Bellerophon, his mother, and Eurynome, daughter of Nisus; Pegasus and the Chimaera; Bellerophon's marriage to the daughter of Iobates, and his children.

Rz. 245 contains more about Bellerophon. Rzach places it among the doubtful pieces, but Grenfell and Hunt, Blass, and Mr. Evelyn-White (*C. Q.* vii. 216) are surely right in attributing it to the same poem, and the latter has united the two in his fragment 7.

E-W. 98, *Rz.* 135 contains a fragment from the saga of Meleager, but little can be made out of it as it stands there, except the names, a brief account of Meleager's exploit against the boar of Calydon and his death, and the names of the family of Oeneus, among whom is Deianira, as a reference to a poisoned robe indicates. But a further portion of the same story has lately come to light, and affords some interest of a textual kind, because by an unusual coincidence it is contained in two papyri of quite different ages. The first papyrus with the right-hand portion torn away contains the first part of each line, and has lost the end; the newly discovered fragment, with the left portion torn away, contains the last part of the

lines, and has lost the beginning; both overlap, and the new fragment continues the story. The first was printed in the *Berliner Klassikertexte*, V. i. 22, and belongs to the fourth century A.D., but the new fragment (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xvii, no. 2075) comes, as Professor Hunt tells us, from 'an unusually sumptuous manuscript written in large calligraphic uncials', and critically revised. It is strange that the same passage should have been preserved in this way in papyri which differ so widely in time and style of execution.

Forty new lines, more or less consecutive, can be thus restored with some completeness, and the piecing together of the two fragments shows that some of the conjectural restorations made by the Berlin editors were not correct. We now have the genealogy of Deianira, the apotheosis of Heracles after her fatal but innocent act, and Hera's reconciliation to him; but the passage of eight lines which opens with the words

Νῦν δ' ἤδη θεός ἐστι, κακῶν δ' ἐξήλυθε πάντων

is marked in the new fragment as spurious by an obelus prefixed to each line. They were the work of Onomacritus.[1]

E-W. 14, Rz. 21 contains a short fragment from Atalanta's race; she is described like Helen:

Χαρίτων ἀμαρύγματ' ἔχουσα.

But fragments of forty-eight lines on the same subject in *E-W. 14, Rz. addenda 21 b*, from the Italian papyri, are longer and interesting. The opening of the race is described, the spectators and their amazement; the wind blowing Atalanta's dress, according to Vitelli's happy restoration:

⟨τῆς δ' ἄρα κόλπωσεν πν⟩οιὴ Ζεφύροιο χιτῶνα
⟨καλὸν ἐΰννητόν τε πε⟩ρὶ στήθεσσ' ἀπαλοῖσι.

Then her father Schoeneus made proclamation. Hippomenes 'ran for his life', called to Atalanta, and threw two of his apples; and, 'as he was near the end, he threw the third; and with it escaped death, and reached the goal panting'. Körte rightly observes that the description is more vivid than in most of the other fragments of the Catalogue.

E-W. 58, Rz. 81 contains fragments of thirteen lines on

[1] T. W. Allen, *Class. Quart.* xxii. 73.

Peleus, from a papyrus of Strasbourg. It describes how the people looked with pride on him on his return to Phthia with much booty after sacking Iolcus and winning his bride, and greeted him:

τρὶς μάκαρ Αἰακίδη καὶ τετράκις, ὄλβιε Πηλεῦ.

It happens that two of the lines are quoted by Tzetzes on Lycophron,[1] with the statement that Hesiod composed an Epithalamium on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis; but that is, as Crönert remarks, in Tzetzes' 'characteristically crazy way'. Marckscheffel, with greater probability, places the lines among the remains of the Catalogue.

E-W. 99, Rz. 245 b, page 272, possibly contains a fragment of the saga of Amphiaraus. Rzach calls it 'doubtful', but Mr. Evelyn-White (in *C. Q.* ix. 76, with further arguments in *C. Q.* xi. 50) claims it for the Hesiodic Catalogue, and finds a reference to Amphiaraus' mysterious end.

E-W., pp. 600 sqq., contains several fragments which were discovered after Rzach's edition appeared, and were published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xi, 1358 and 1359.

No. 1358 contains two narratives, the first, the story of Europa, to whom Zeus, her lover, gave the golden necklace which Hephaestus had given to him. Her descendants are mentioned, and in particular Sarpedon, whom the author identifies with the Sarpedon of the *Iliad*. Grenfell and Hunt think that the portent which preceded his death at the hands of Patroclus, the drops of blood which fell from heaven, was referred to; but the text contains difficulties, and it is preferable to follow one of Mr. Evelyn-White's conclusions, that the story contained the account of some portent vouchsafed to Sarpedon when he set out from Lycia to Troy.[2]

The subject of the second fragment[3] is different. From the words

περί τ' ἀμφί τε κυκλώσαντο
] μάρψαι· ταὶ δ' ἐκφυγέειν καὶ ἀλύξαι,

Grenfell and Hunt, completing the line with great probability by *ἱέμενοι*, infer that the story of the pursuit of the Harpies by

[1] Lycophronis Alexandra, *Scheer*, vol. ii, p. 4.
[2] Evelyn-White in *Classical Quarterly*, x. 65.
[3] ib.

the Boreadae was narrated. Their reasoning is cogent. We know from fragment *W. 39*, *Rz. 52* that the third book of the Catalogue contained the story of Phineus, and from fragment *W. 39*, *Rz. 54* (preserved by Strabo, from Ephorus) that the story of Phineus and the Harpies was told *ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ Γῆς Περιόδῳ*, which was probably the name for that section of the book which contained the voyage of the Argonauts. Further, we know from the lexicographers (see also frag. *Rz. 60*, *W. 43*), that the *Κατουδαῖοι* (Troglodytes) who occur certainly twice with the *Πυγμαῖοι*, were mentioned in the third book of the Catalogue. Apparently there is a description of the course of the flight of the Boreadae over the regions inhabited by various tribes. The *Πυγμαῖοι*, who, according to the *Iliad*, lived near 'the streams of Ocean', are here strangely coupled with the Scythians; and since the *Ὑπερβόρεοι* appears in the fragment, and Stephanus of Byzantium (s. v. *Ἡμίκυνες*) says that they and the Massagetae and the *Ἡμίκυνες* were neighbours, it is likely that Mr. Evelyn-White's insertion of the *Ἡμίκυνες* and Massagetae is right. We may compare the mention of these two tribes in the journey of Apollo told by Simias of Rhodes.[1] Then follows the descent of the *Αἰθίοπες* and other tribes, with a further reference to the course of the flight to Sicily, and back to the Ionian islands, Cephallenia and Dulichium. Mr. Evelyn-White may also be right in seeing in the word *πανομφαῖος* close to the mention of the Libyans a reference to the oracle of Ammon in the Libyan desert. In view of the difficulty in assigning these fragments to the Catalogue as we know it, C. Robert (*Hermes*, lii. 477) would ascribe them to a separate epic, the Atlantias or Atlantis, of which we find no mention. Marckscheffel would assign them to the Hesiodic 'Astronomy'.

W., p. 606, *Oxyrh. P. xi.* 1359 contain accounts of Auge, the mother of Telephus, and of other heroines. Although there are no coincidences with any of the existing Hesiodic works like those in *Oxyrh. P.* 1358, the tone and the contents make its ascription to the Catalogue probable.

Auge is said to have been brought up with the daughters of

[1] *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 109, fr. 1.

an unnamed king, whom Grenfell and Hunt and Wilamowitz call Teuthras, King of Mysia, but whom C. Robert thinks to have been Laomedon; for first, he argues, Teuthras had no daughter, as far as we know; but Laomedon had; and gods certainly appeared to Laomedon 'in bodily form', for Apollo and Poseidon were forced by Zeus to serve him, the one by shepherding his flocks, the other by building the walls of Troy.[1]

The next fragment is concerned with the descendants of Electra, the daughter of Atlas, who was the mother of Iasion, or as he is called here, Eetion; the identity of the two is established by the scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. i. 916, and the scholiast on Eurip. *Phoen.* 1129.

In the fourth of the fragments which compose *Oxyrh. Pap.* xi. 1359 (*W.*, p. 608) is mentioned Diomedê (whose name is here restored), the mother of Hyacinthus, whom Phoebus killed with a quoit. *Rz.* 205b mentions Troas, the son of Teucer, and is from the Catalogue.

A fragment printed in the Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. 53, 133 sqq., contains the ends of eighteen lines, which the editor considers to be part of the Catalogue. The loss of the first part of the lines is vexatious, for they appear to contain an unknown legend of nymphs in some distant islands.[2] The nymphs are perhaps those of some islands in the western Ocean, and the islands the *Fortunatae Insulae*; but all that we gain for certain at present from the fragment is the excellent new verb μινυνθάνειν (μινυνθάνει ἀγλαὸν ἦβην), 'diminish', which Mr. Lobel has divined. The fragment cannot be attributed with certainty to the Catalogue.[3] Körte[3] has pointed out that some of the phrases and words recall the Alexandrian age, but the name of no appropriate

[1] This conjecture is accepted by K. Fr. W. Schmidt (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1918, 88), but more evidence is needed before we can decide. Wilamowitz, in *Hermes*, lxi. 277, makes the interesting suggestion that since the story of Telephus was illustrated on the little frieze of the altar at Pergamum, it is conceivable that 'the old epic style was imitated by Pergamene Epic writers like Musaeus of Ephesus'.

[2] Hesiod, Ἔργα, 168, 170; Pindar, Fr. 129 Chr.; Pliny, *N. H.* vi. 32 (37) quoting Juba and describing the Canary Islands: cf. Diodorus, v. 19 (Madeira).

[3] *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, viii. 255.

author of that age suggests itself; and the handsome style in which the papyrus is executed, recalling that of other Hesiodic pieces of this period, the second or third centuries A. D., favours its addition to them.

Oxyrh. Pap. viii. 1087 (not in *W.* or *Rz.*) preserves a word from another of the Hesiodic poems, the *Κήυκος Γάμος*. This papyrus contains an elaborate and learned commentary on *Iliad* **H**, dating from the latter part of the first century B. C. It gives a list of 'paronymous' words (that is, derivative words; here new formations of the nominative of the second declension from genitives of the third), and quotes the form *ἀπάτωρος* from this poem. But when later it quotes the form *Τρῶος* as occurring 'in Hesiod' (for that must almost certainly be the name), the implication is that by that learned age the *Κήυκος Γάμος* was not regarded as a work of Hesiod. Among later writers of good repute Plutarch, *Moralia*, 730 F, regarded it as spurious; which Athenaeus, ii. 49 B, says was the view of the *γραμματικῶν παῖδες*, although the speaker in Athenaeus regarded it as ancient.

Besides these several references occur in the Herculanean fragments of Philodemus. The references in *Rz.* are fragments 20, 60 (which mentions the *Κατουδαῖοι* and *Πυγμαῖοι* like *Oxyrh. Pap.* xi. 1357), 100, 112 b, 125, 126, 131 (from the *Ἤ Οἷαι*).

These fragments do nothing to settle the vexed question of the date of 'Hesiod', and it is not the purpose of this essay to attempt it. Mr. Allen,[1] with sound judgement, calls 'the great mass of the Hesiodic writings, the *Theogony*, the *Catalogi*, *Ἤ Οἷαι*, and minor mantic lore, the output of successors and disciples', that is, disciples of Hesiod, the author of the *Works and Days*. The facility of writing shown in these fragments certainly points to their being later than the *Works and Days*, later than 'Hesiod' proper, as we may say. But we must be careful not to confuse the age of their composition with that of the material. However late they may have been composed, the material is very early, and it is rather this which it is the object of this chapter to emphasize.

[1] *Homer*, p. 78.

ii

These new extracts suggest for consideration the nature of Hesiodic poetry in general. The critics have recognized the purpose of the greater poems; and the *Catalogue of Women* and the *Ἠ Οἷαι* which we have been considering are now seen to have as their subject the tracing of the descent of famous families from a divine origin downward, themes which admitted the insertion of stories connected with the persons mentioned in the descent.

But taking the poetry of the Boeotian school together as a whole, what is its general characteristic, and what was its origin?

The amount of Boeotian Epos, Saga, and Folk-lore must have been very considerable, even if we do not include the *Thebais* and the *Oedipodeia*, and we see more traces of it in a later age, when we come to the new papyrus fragments of Corinna. That it was connected with, and even developed from, the Ionian school of early Epic, is certain; and it is equally certain that it was based upon material from the mainland of Greece itself, and arose from conditions which existed there.[1] Conversely, although we are treading here upon highly controversial ground, recent critics agree that the Ionian Epic is indebted to Boeotia.[2]

If we were to sum up the character of the literature in one word, we might call it 'Encyclopaedic'; as the late Mr. Walter Scott once put it: 'The Hesiodic school shows a desire of knowledge for its own sake.'[3] We must justify the epithet.

[1] A. Fick's view that 'Hesiod' was composed in Aeolic, and was transposed into quasi-Ionic with large additions, seems to have died a natural death.

[2] Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*,[3] p. 226, writes: 'It looks as if forgotten remnants of old Boeotian Saga, or even Epos, omitted from the canonical *Thebais*, which concentrated on the War of the Seven, were used for building up the plot of the "poetry about Troy"'; cf. p. 223, of Adrastus; and p. 315, 'The rhapsodes of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* used the *Thebais* without disguise or shame'. In this argument Professor Murray is following Mulder; but Boeotian elements had been observed long before.

[3] The complete quotation is contained in some unpublished lectures on Homer delivered by him at McGill University, 'The Hesiodic school shows a desire of knowledge for its own sake, not so much for what is beautiful'.

The poems contain Philosophy, History, and Natural Science. In the *Theogony* we find Natural Philosophy in the form of religious cosmogony; Moral Philosophy for man as a social being in the laws of *tabu* preserved in the *Works and Days* (just as at the oracular seat of Trophonius there were rules about purity), and in the Χειρῶνος Ὑποθῆκαι; and the first Philosophy of History in the Five Ages in the *Works*, 106 sqq.

Political philosophy appears in the three principles which govern all human society, Εὐνομίη, Δίκη, Εἰρήνη (*Theog.* 902), and opposed to these the offspring of Eris (not the good Ἔρις, ἥ τε καὶ ἀπάλαμόν περ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔγειρεν, *Op.* 20) which 'ruins kingdoms and lays cities flat'; a lamentable list which is almost a prophecy of the history of many Greek states,[1] and on which the celebrated chapters of Thucydides (iii. 82 sqq.), which describe the revolution in Corcyra, are a commentary.

> Ὑσμίνας τε Μάχας τε Φόνους τ' Ἀνδροκτασίας τε,
> Νείκεά τε ψευδέας τε Λόγους Ἀμφιλλογίας τε,
> Δυσνομίην τ' Ἄάτην τε συνήθεας ἀλλήλῃσιν
> Ὅρκον θ', ὃς δὴ πλεῖστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους
> πημαίνει, ὅτε κέν τις ἑκὼν ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.
> (*Theog.* 228 sqq.)

Dr. M. Cary[2] and Nilsson find a sociological principle of eugenics contained in a precept enjoining the rearing of one son, and we may compare the strangely modern recognition in the *Cypria* of the problem raised by over-population, when Zeus is said to have 'fanned the flame of the Trojan war to lighten the burden of the earth by reducing the excessive numbers of mankind.'[3]

[1] Mahaffy, *Gk. Lit.*[5] i. 123 makes the same point. 'The Iron Age (lines 180 sqq.) contains every one of the features so striking in Thucydides' famous picture of fifth century Greeks (iii. 82 sqq.).'

[2] *Cambridge Ancient Hist.* iii, p. 611. But see the context in Hesiod.

[3] *Cypria*, fr. 1 K, and Allen, i:

> σύνθετο κουφίσαι ἀνθρώπων παμβώτορα γαῖαν,
> ῥιπίσσας πολέμου μεγάλην ἔριν Ἰλιακοῖο,
> ὄφρα κενώσειεν θανάτῳ βάρος [*si vera lectio*].

Euripides liked this bit of rationalism, for he refers to it thrice, *Orest.* 1641, *Hel.* 38–41, *Elect.* 1282–3.

But there is not only theory; there is also applied science, contained in the precepts of Agriculture, although, like early Roman Agriculture, it is placed under the sanctions of religion; for the precepts, as Croiset observes, are dogmatic and sacerdotal. The *Ἔργα*, indeed, is specially meant for the dweller in the country; so P. Waltz says,[1] it is 'an exposition of all the principles necessary for the material and moral life' of such a person.

Again, there is History, national and family, often in the form of genealogies, and conspicuously in the Gazetteer of Boeotia in *Iliad B*; and it is not surprising, as we shall see, to find that one of the Hesiodic works, the *Melampodia*, probably gave the history of famous seers, like Mopsus, Calchas, Tiresias, and Melampus.

Again, there is a guide to generally useful knowledge; as the list of the Heliades (*Rz.* 199), the Gorgons (*Theog.* 276), the Pleiades (fr. 275), the Hyades (fr. 180), the Sirens (fr. 68); the great rivers (*Theog.* 337 sqq.), the Muses (*Theog.* 77 sqq.), the sea-nymphs (*Theog.* 243 sqq.).[2]

Recent critics have noticed the philosophical bent of the Boeotian school. Thus Croiset happily observes that 'the genealogies reveal a latent philosophy', and so also Nilsson: 'we have only to strip off the mythological disguise to have natural philosophy'; and we might describe, as he has done, the account of the mythical ages of mankind as 'the first philosophy of history'. 'Natural philosophy', Nilsson continues, 'long called its principles by mythological names, like *Ἔρως*, which is the "Driving Force" of the Universe in this poetry, and *Νέμεσις*, and *Ἔρις*.' That description of *Ἔρως* perhaps is going too far; Croiset[3] takes it to mean 'a principle of Union', Hesiod's object being to unify and simplify; while Mr. Evelyn-White (*Hesiod*, p. xxi), with greater proba-

[1] *Rev. Historique*, cxvii, 1914.

[2] The spurious works are of the same didactic character; the *Ornithomanteia*, the *Astronomia*, the *Praecepta Chironis*, the Μέγαλα Ἔργα, the *Idaean Dactyls* (on the discovery of metals and metallurgy). See Evelyn-White, *Hesiod* (Loeb), pp. xix, xx. Mr. Tod points out that the Boeotian inscriptions of historical times show a notable tendency to record facts, and that they are remarkably full of information.

[3] *Litt. Grecque*, i. 529.

bility, calls it an 'indefinite reproductive influence'. Again, Mr. H. J. Rose[1] finds Hesiod 'something of a systematic theologian in his religion', but 'with an account of the origin of the Universe in a way very reminiscent of early philosophical doctrines'.[2] But although Boeotia is in this respect the forerunner of Ionia, this religious cosmogony shows no signs of 'the luminous Ionic mind',[3] to use Sir Clifford Allbutt's happy phrase. Indeed Heraclitus bracketed Hesiod and Pythagoras in a dry sentence of condemnation for their 'knowledge without intelligence' (*frag.* 40 *Di.*): *Πολυμαθίη νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην.* Nor is the philosophic tone sustained. As Mr. Rose observes,[4] Hesiod, after a philosophic opening, can 'proceed to tell a tale which might have been freely translated from Maori, had any such people as the Maoris then existed'. We recall Xenophanes' criticism (*frag.* 11 *Di.*) that Hesiod is to be blamed for telling stories about the gods which embodied

ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀνείδεα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν.

But religions rarely shake off their beggarly elements. Dr. Sikes[5] presses the distinction between Boeotia and Ionia further: 'It is a far cry from the speculations of [Boeotian] Epic Poetry and early folk-lore to Greek philosophy: not perhaps in actual achievement, but in the spirit which animated Thales and his successors. The Ionian philosophers had no more method than the poets, they "guessed" . . .; but they were so far scientific, in that they subordinated pure imagination to reason, and tried to construct a model of the Universe without recourse to mythical and popular tradition.'

In the late age of Greek literature we find the same encyclopaedic spirit which we have noticed above, and the same blend of traditional religion, with philosophic, scientific, and historical inquiry, and practical ethics, in a writer of the same country, Plutarch of Chaeronea.

[1] *Primitive Culture in Greece*, p. 157.
[2] So E. Meyer, *Gesch d. Alt.* ii. 415, 416, finds a coherent and systematized account of the world in Hesiod.
[3] *Greek Medicine in Rome*, p. 80.
[4] *Primitive Culture in Greece*, p. 157.
[5] *The Anthropology of the Greeks*, p. 47.

We cannot blame the authors of the Hesiodic 'Corpus' for not being in advance of their times. Rather should we be gratified by seeing in them the principle of the search for knowledge, *Ἱστορίη*, and the impulse to use the native powers of the mind.

iii

But how comes it that this pursuit of encyclopaedic knowledge existed in Boeotia in these early times? To answer this question we must look at the conditions which existed there.

Encyclopaedic knowledge is possible only under the condition of long-continued and civilized settlement.

Now there had been human habitation in Boeotia, one of the most fertile parts of Greece, from time immemorial, and when invaders or immigrants in 'Minoan' or 'sub-Minoan' times founded cities like Thebes and Orchomenus and introduced their civilization, blending their race no doubt with the natives, a wealth of legends and a material for tradition were created, hardly, as has often been observed, second to those of the Argolid in romance, and even wider than they in range.

It would be the hereditary landowners in early and in later times who preserved their family trees which compose the *Ἠοῖαι*. These exhibit the matrilinear principle, which left its traces in many parts of Northern Greece, in Locris, for instance, and some of the islands. It is found in societies that great heritages are frequently transmitted through females.[1] Again, the pursuit of knowledge is often found connected with the institutions of religion. Now in this respect the early condition of Boeotia is remarkable for the number of its[2] oracular sites, and of its local centres of religious cult. Thus at Thebes, where divination *ἀπὸ κληδόνων* was an institution

[1] The custom goes back, in Professor Murray's words (*Rise of the Greek Epic*,[3] p. 80), to an age 'that knew of mothers and children, but not much of husbands, where the mother was the natural centre of the family, staying and ruling the household, while the men fought and hunted and wandered'. But see Farnell, *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, p. 25.

[2] See especially Hdt. viii. 134–5; Plutarch, *de Def. Orac.*, cc. 5, 8.

(Paus. ix. 11. 7), lived the most famous soothsayer of antiquity, Tiresias,[1] who had a daughter *Μαντώ*. Amphiaraus,[2] almost equally celebrated in Theban legend, is associated with Thebes and Oropus; Tenerus, a soothsayer, is mentioned in Paus. ix. 10. 6 and ix. 26. 1.

Again, the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea was especially famous (Paus. ix. 39. 1), and there were besides at Thebes and Anthedon sanctuaries of the primeval Cabiri.

We may add to these the oracular seats of Apollo; one at Thebes, that of 'Ismenian' Apollo, situated to the right of the *Πύλαι Ἠλεκτραι*,[3] another at Tegyra, another at Mount Ptous[4] on the mountain-side near Lake Copais. It was about this last oracular seat that Herodotus[5] tells the curious story of Mys of Europus whom Mardonius sent the round of the oracles in Greece (the only one that was not Boeotian being at Abae, in the neighbouring Phocis), and to whom an answer was given, to the astonishment of the Thebans who were with him, in a foreign language which he declared to be Carian. To these oracular seats, some of which are immemorial, we may attribute the *tabus* and precepts which are preserved in the *Works and Days*, and, as Mr. Allen well observes,[6] 'the witch-wisdom and the Farmer's Almanack are not in time'.

When at a later time the successive immigrants,[7] Minyae, Arnaei, Lapithae, Thracians, Phrygians, and others entered Boeotia in successive streams (for, as Thucydides remarks,[8] the best lands, such as Thessaly and Boeotia, were always

[1] Son of Οἰδαῖος, 'Earth-sprung', or 'Infernal'?

[2] Dr. Farnell attributes Amphiaraus to the Minyans (*Greek Hero-Cults*, p. 61); he is linked in the mythical genealogies with the Minyan Melampus and with Trophonius, 'an ancient Minyan Boeotian daemon of vegetation (τροφή)'. He also finds that Apollo's oracle at Tegyra near Orchomenus belonged to the ancient period of Minyan supremacy at Orchomenus, and concludes that 'certain of these prophetic cults, especially those around Lake Copais, descended from a Minyan stock' (*Cults of the Greek States*, iv. 220, 222). The name 'Minyan' is considered below, Note A.

[3] Paus. ix. 10. 2.

[4] Paus. ix. 23. 6; Strabo, ix. 2. 10, 34.

[5] Hdt. viii. 133–5. One Gaulites is called Κᾶρα δίγλωσσον in Thuc. viii. 85.

[6] *Homer*, p. 81.

[7] See the list in Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*,[3] p. 89.

[8] Thuc. i. 2.

having changes of inhabitants), such institutions were centres of stability.

Besides the oracles there were the temples. Their foundation indeed, at least as far as they were temples of the gods of the invading Greeks, is later than that of the seats of divination and oracles; but we shall not be wrong in regarding them as early subsidiary influences in the preservation of tradition; for the continuity of it is assured by religious foundations with a succession of officers. A piece of information in Strabo points the same way.[1] There stood an old and greatly renovated temple of Athena, at Alalcomenae, the inhabitants of which were exempt from military service, and hence, he suggests, were not mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue. Here there was no fear of the extinction of tradition. We see the influence of priests in the list of lucky days, in oracular language, and in the theological tone of the Hesiodic cosmogony. We must remember also that temples were used as Record-offices, public, professional, and private, as we see from the instances of Delphi, Epidaurus, and Lindus. Thus medical knowledge was preserved at Epidaurus, where the records, which we have in great abundance,[2] are medical case-books. Again, poetry is connected with temples; for the god's praises must be sung, as for instance at Delphi, where we have the anonymous Paeans and those of Aristonous; so Isyllus' Paean to Asclepius comes from Epidaurus. Genealogies, although partly due to families, are due also to the records of temples; jealously preserved by family or national pride, they are countersigned, as it were, by a religious authority, when the family records are traced back to gods and goddesses.

Boeotia was also remarkable for having another public institution which both perpetuated and diffused knowledge, the religious festivals.

We hear of an ancient festival of Artemis Laphria, which by the time of Pausanias had been transferred to Isis; of the *Μουσεῖα* held on Helicon by the Thespians (Paus. ix. 31. 3); of the *Χαριτήσια* at Orchomenus, which were still held in 100 B.C.;

[1] Strabo, ix. 2. 36.
[2] P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, ch. xii.

of the *Παμβοιώτια* (Strabo ix. 2. 29); of the *Πτώια* celebrated in honour of Apollo Ptous near Acraephia, although no doubt, they were instituted at different times. We may add the annual flight, pursuit, and permissible killing of the maidens called *Αἱ Ὀλεῖαι* at the festival Agrionia at Orchomenus, which seems to be of great antiquity.[1]

Institutions like these must have had a potent force for the cultivation and diffusion of native poetry, such as we find in the Berlin Papyrus of Corinna.[2] The common institution of *Ἀγῶνες*,[3] which were connected with festivals, and which, unlike those in the Argolid, embraced intellectual as well as athletic contests, encouraged literature by the recitations of Epic poetry, and by music. Thus Pindar sprang from a family of hereditary flute players. Dr. Rhys Roberts indeed suggests[4] that 'the leaning of the Boeotians towards superstition and cruder rites must have been a hindrance [to culture]'; and this is, no doubt, true for historical times; but in the earlier ages it tended rather to preserve the continuity of tradition. But the recent advance of our knowledge suggests that another cause may have been at work. What distinguishes Boeotia above all other parts of Greece is that the use of writing is definitely a part of the Cadmean tradition.[5] Even if it were not, it is incredible that there should not have been writing in the palmy days of Orchomenus. When we find an identity between the civilization of Orchomenus and Cnossus; architecture which could erect and decorate the 'beehive' tomb; a knowledge of hydraulics which is shown in the water-works at Lake Copais as in the staircase of the palace at Cnossus,[6] and writing at Cnossus, this art must surely have been known at Orchomenus.

[1] Plutarch, *Moralia*; *Aetia Graeca*, chap. 38, 299.

[2] Text in Diehl, *Anthol. Lyrica*, iv; cf. Powell, Euripides, *Phoenissae*, Introduction, pp. 53 sqq.

[3] For Ἀγῶνες in the earlier and the last age of Greek literature see the article on *Later Epic Poetry*.

[4] *The Ancient Boeotians*, p. 41.

[5] Not that the Καδμήια γράμματα which Herodotus saw on the tripods at Thebes were Cadmean (Hdt. v. 59); see below, p. 207. There is another reference to them in Aristotle, *De Mirab. Auscult.* § 133.

[6] 'There is an elaborate drainage system in the private rooms with an arrangement of lavatories, sinks, and manholes. . . . On the staircase by

Sir Arthur Evans with his quick divination had suggested this. 'Is it reasonable to suppose', he asks, 'that this mainland culture, so identical in other respects with that of Minoan Crete, was ignorant of the art of writing?' But the suggestion demands development and justification. Before the discoveries of the last twenty years it would have been judged rash to assume that there was writing at this early period, yet there were slight traces of evidence existing, although hardly enough to attract notice, and certainly not enough to base an assertion upon.

But of late the evidence has been steadily accumulating. Characters painted on jars have been found at Orchomenus,[1] Thebes,[2] as at Mycenae,[3] Tiryns,[4] and Acharnae.[5]

The evidence which existed previously is this, and it deserves close attention. A curious story from Haliartus, which is only twelve miles from Lebadea, where the oracle of Trophonius was, is preserved by Plutarch.[6] The text is imperfect, but the main points are clear. When Alcmene's grave was opened during the Spartan occupation of the Cadmea at Thebes (386–379 B.C.), there were found a small bronze bracelet, two earthenware jars containing earth which had been coagulated into a mass, and a bronze tablet with many characters, strange because of their apparently great antiquity. Nothing could be made of the characters when they came out clear after the bronze tablet had been thoroughly washed; and since they were peculiar, and most resembled

the eastern bastion of the Palace of Cnossus there is an elaborate piece of hydraulic science for checking the flow of water. A stone runnel is made to descend the stairs in a series of parabolic curves which would subject the water to friction, and thus reduce the velocity and the consequent danger of a flood on the pavement below.' Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 8, 9.

For the drainage works at Orchomenus see Frazer's *Pausanias*, vol. v. 110 sqq.

[1] Illustrated and commented on by Sir A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, i, p. 57.

[2] *Scripta Minoa*, p. 58.

[3] Ib., pp. 1, 2, 58, 59; Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 269; W. Larfeld in *Handbuch d. Gr. Epigraphik*, p. 193.

[4] Bossert, *Altkreta*, p. 239.

[5] *Scripta Minoa*, p. 58.

[6] Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis*, chaps. 5–7, 577 E sqq. See S. Reinach, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1900, p. 197, 'Les témoignages antiques de l'écriture mycénienne'; Foucart, *Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des mystères d'Eleusis*; L. R. Farnell, *Classical Review*, 1902, pp. 137 and 188.

Egyptian characters, Agesilaus sent copies to the King of Egypt, asking him to show them to the priests to decipher, and to return them quickly. The king sent them to the prophet Chonouphis at Memphis, who spent three days reading up all kinds of characters from ancient books, and then wrote his answer. 'He explained to us', says the narrator, 'that the inscription enjoined the holding of a competition in honour of the Muses; and that the god further directed and advised the Greeks to observe a time of leisure and peace, spending it in continual philosophical discussion, and, laying arms aside, to decide on questions of Justice with the help of the Muses and Reason.' The characters, he explained, were those of the system current in the reign of Proteus, which Heracles learnt from Amphion. Foucart thought that the statement that the letters were Egyptian hieroglyphics was true, but, as Wiedemann[1] observed, 'the interpretation of the characters as Egyptian was a mere fancy, or rather, a hoax'. Sir Arthur Evans concludes that 'it cannot now be thought improbable that the tablet contained characters which were in use under the Minyan dynasty in Boeotia'.[2] Just as we have learned that 'the prehistoric past of Boeotia now proves not to be Phoenician, but Minoan, and that the Cadmeans almost certainly came from Crete, so we must realize that these characters were not Phoenician, but Minoan, 'Cadmean'.

The use of the epithet 'Cadmean',[3] which was applied by Herodotus to the lettering on the tripods which he saw in the temple of Ismenian Apollo, points the same way. The tripods, like the possessions of the temple[4] at Lindus, were attributed to the great men of old, and professed to be dedicated, one by Amphitryon, another by Laodamas, the son of Eteocles, the third by a victorious boxer, Scaeus. The letters were probably not 'Cadmean' or 'Phoenician' or 'Minoan' at all, but old Ionic, and Herodotus identified most of them as such, and the term *Καδμήια γράμματα* (not *σήματα*, it may be observed) must surely have come from a Theban source.

[1] On Hdt. ii. 43.
[2] Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, p. 107.
[3] Hdt. v. 59.
[4] See Timachidas, *supra*, p. 76.

We have seen that one noticeable feature in Boeotian poetry is the practice of recording lists, and Mr. Tod makes the interesting point that lists appear to form a large part of the inscriptions of Cnossus.

So when the Greek 'Muses', the 'elder'[1] or the 'younger', as Mimnermus called the two 'dynasties', came southwards from Thrace to Helicon, which the Thracians, according to Strabo,[2] consecrated to the Muses, they found in existence already a body of native traditional knowledge, and they may have also found the means of recording it.

Note A

Some connexion between the names Minos and Minyae had been thought of by scholars before it received the weight of Sir Arthur Evans's authority (*Scripta Minoa*, pp. 107, 56). His complete judgement, part of which is given above (p. 206), continues as follows: 'under the Minyan dynasty in Boeotia, the name of whose founder has been legitimately compared with that of Minos.'

But the view has rightly found no favour on account of the difference in the quantities of the syllables in the names, and the absence of support in the legends. The short quantities of both the syllables in *Μῐ́νναι* never vary, and both syllables in *Μῑ́νως*, *Μινῴος* appear long in the whole of Greek poetry without exception.

It is not safe to rely upon differences of quantity which appear to be due to poetical licence in the rendering of foreign words, like *Κῡρήνη*, but *Κῠρήνη* in Hesiod, *Ἄπις* and *Ἄπιος*, *Πῖσα* and *Πίσα*, *Φρύγες* and *Βρῡγηίδες* (the latter in Apollonius Rhodius), the varying *Βέβρῠκες* in Apollonius Rhodius, *λαβύρινθος* and *Ζεὺς Λαβραυνδεύς*.

Yet, although it is nearly certain that the Cadmeans came from Crete, as we have seen, on the question whether the Minyans also came from Crete, scholars differ (see H. R. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 60). Dr. Farnell (*Greek*

[1] Mimnermus, *Frag. ap. Paus.* ix. 29. 4; Bergk[4], fr. 13.
[2] Strabo, x, p. 471

Hero-Cults, p. 45) writes: 'Nearly all the evidence is in favour of the Hellenic character of the Minyans.' 'And yet,' he continues with his usual penetration, 'the names Ino and Melikertes arouse our suspicions that the Minyans may only have been the chief propagators [of the cult of Ino and Melikertes with the myth], having received it from elsewhere. Here, as so often in our quest of Hellenic origins, we find ourselves on a track that leads to Crete and the adjacent lands.' The latest writer on the subject, however, Mr. Wade-Gery (in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii. 539), allows the possibility: 'the Minyans, a pre-Achaean remnant [on Mount Taygetus], perhaps from Crete.' Certainly there are some resemblances between the civilization of the Minyae and that of Minoan Crete and the Mycenean Argolid. Legend attributes to the Minyae the 'bee-hive' tomb at Orchomenus (the 'Treasury of Atreus') and the drainage work at Lake Copais, with which we have already compared the hydraulic science shown in the Palace of Cnossus. Again, Minyas is called 'the son of Chryses', which suggests the gold work of Crete and the Mycenean age; and both Minyas and Cadmus were said to have got their wealth from Thrace and Mount Pangaeus (Strabo, xiv, p. 680). Lastly, Minoan settlements are found in the sheltered bays of the south coast of Laconia, where from the proximity of Crete we should expect them, and this is a district[1] which is full of the legends of Minyan settlements. But the invention of letters is attributed to Cadmus,[2] not to the Minyans.

At all events there were two contemporary and rival powers in Boeotia, the Cadmeans at Thebes and the Minyans at Orchomenus. The legends preserve notices, probably true, of hostilities between them: as

> *Ὦ Ἐτεόκλειοι θύγατρες θεαί, αἳ Μινύειον*
> *Ὀρχομενὸν φιλέουσιν ἀπεχθόμενόν ποτε Θήβαις*

(Theocr. xvi. 104); and the story of Heracles of Thebes, *ῥινοκολούστης* (Paus. ix. 25. 4), who cut off the ears, noses, and hands of the heralds of Erginus, the King of Orchomenus,

[1] Farnell, *Greek Hero-Cults*, p. 45.

[2] See p. 207, *supra*.

when he met them as they came to demand the tribute from Thebes, and who afterwards killed Erginus, routed the Orchomenians, and compelled them to pay double tribute (Apollod. ii. 4. 4). It is to be hoped, indeed it is to be expected, that when the Minoan and other scripts are deciphered, light will be thrown upon this dark region of ethnology, as upon others.

Note B

There were other traditions which attributed the invention of letters to Orpheus (in [Alcidamas], *Odysseus* 24) and to Musaeus, and also a tradition that some writings of Orpheus, apparently medical charms, existed upon tablets on Mount Haemus in Thrace. This is preserved by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis* 968,

Θρῄσσαις ἐν σανίσιν, τὰς | Ὀρφεία κατέγραψεν | γῆρυς,

quoting Heraclides, apparently Heraclides Ponticus, who wrote in the third century B. C. on the history of Greek literature, and who guards the statement with *φασί*.

But it was only to be expected that the Greeks would ascribe the invention to their fabulous early poets, and different cities also ascribed it to their local heroes. Yet it is not impossible that writing was known in Thrace, where there was a civilization contemporary with the Mycenaean, and that the knowledge may have been brought by northern invaders as well as from Crete. Hellanicus (*fr.* 42 a Jac.) says that Thracians invaded the Minyan kingdom in Boeotia, and there are many place-names of Phrygian or Thracian type in Boeotia (Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria*, pp. 102, 103). But no evidence of writing has yet come to light from the 'Mycenean' sites in Thrace and Macedonia; many sites, however, that are mentioned in Mr. Casson's map remain to be excavated. The two claims do not conflict, but the Cadmean claim is the stronger.

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II

ON TWO LISTS OF PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

i

Aegyptus, ii, pp. 17–20, contains the following fragment, published with an article by Dottoressa Medea Norsa, 'Elenco di opere letterarie', and observations by Dr. Sabbadini, but

much is left undetermined. It is of the third century A.D., and came from Oxyrhynchus.

Συμπ[ό]σιο[ν]
Διάλογοι κ
Σοφιστής α⁻
Πρὸς Καλλικλέα γ⁻
Πρωταγόρας α⁻
Εὐθύδημος α⁻
Παρμενίδης Ἀνάχαρσις
Χαρμ[ί]δης
Ἀλκιβιάδης ἢ Λύσις
Μένων Μενέξενος
Ἴκκίαι β⁻ καὶ Εὔδημος
Τίμαιος
Πολιτικός
Κρατύλος
Ἀλκιβιάδ(ης)
Φίληβος
Φαίδων
Λάχης
Ἀλκιβιάδης,
Γοργίας
Πρωταγόρας
Φίληβος
[a paragraphus]
Ξενόφω(ντος) Παιδ(είας) η⁻
Ἀνάβασις
Ἀγεσίλαος
Κυνηγετικ(ός)
Συμ[πό]σιον
a vacant line
Ὁμήρου ὅσα εὑρίσκ(εται)
Μενάνδ(ρ)ου & εὑρίσ(κεται)
Εὐριπείδου ὅσα εὑρίσκ(εται)
Ἀρ[ιστ]οφά(νους)
Φ[αβωρ]είνου

then a line containing a lost word and traces of a paragraphus, then [. . . . .] . *ινου*.

The papyrus then contains a list of books which include most of the dialogues of Plato, the *Anacharsis* (*de Gymnasiis*, *περὶ Γυμνασίων*) of Lucian, the *Eudemus* (*de Anima*, *περὶ Ψυχῆς*) of Aristotle; some of the works of Xenophon; the names of Homer, Menander, Euripides, and plainly Aristophanes.

There are two mistakes in writing, one slight, *Ἀγεσίλαος* for *Ἀγησίλαος*, one more serious, and pointing to imperfect education, *Ἴκκίαι* for *Ἱππίαι*, that is, the two dialogues called *Hippias*. *Παιδεία* is often used without *Κύρου* in later times.

There is no need to suppose that, because the names Protagoras and Philebus occur twice, and Alcibiades thrice, that *Εὔδημος* is a mistake for *Εὐθύδημος* which has been mentioned before; for since Lucian's *Anacharsis* has slipped into the Platonic dialogues, Aristotle's *Eudemus* may well have done the same.

There are several puzzles in the fragment that have not been solved hitherto: first, the meaning of *Διάλογοι κ*, since twenty-five are mentioned, not twenty. The explanation lies in the writing of the papyrus itself. The list is arranged vertically, and since from *Σοφιστής* (l. 3) to *Φίληβος* (l. 22) twenty lines are included, it follows that the dialogues contained in one line were also contained in one volume, 'twenty rolls' then are mentioned.

The title *Πρὸς Καλλικλέα γ*⁻ is curious, since no dialogue of that name is known, and the speech of Demosthenes *In Calliclem* is clearly inappropriate. It must refer to Plato's *Gorgias*, and to the three divisions into which, as Jowett says, 'the dialogue naturally falls'.[1] Grote even went so far as to say that 'it may be considered almost as three distinct dialogues connected by a loose thread',[2] that is, the discussion of the questions, what is Rhetoric, and what is its scope? (to 461 C); then the exposition of its nature and slight value (to 481 B); thirdly, the theory of life as treated by Callicles and Socrates (481 B to end).

Since the first words and the very last words of the dialogue contain a mention of Callicles, whose house may be the scene, the description, though loose, is not altogether inappropriate. But the roll had evidently been mutilated by the loss of the title; and that also must be the explanation of the double title, *Ἀλκιβιάδης ἢ Λύσις* (in l. 9). There could be no reason except carelessness or even ignorance for the confusion between the two dialogues, since there is no resemblance between them except that they are both good illustrations of a searching Elenchus applied by Socrates to two young men, showing that they had not examined the terms which they used and the views which they held. A glance at the names of the persons of the dialogue would have been sufficient to identify it.

A greater difficulty is presented by the phrase which occurs thrice at the close, *ὅσα εὑρίσκεται*, attached to the names of Homer, Menander, and Euripides. Now, as Sabbadini points out, the phrase is not the same as *ὅσα σῴζεται*, 'all that is

[1] *Dialogues of Plato*, vol. ii, p. 271.
[2] Plato, vol. ii, ch. xxiv, p. 317.

preserved'. It is unlikely that *Ὁμήρου ὅσα σῴζεται* means the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with all the other works bearing Homer's name that are preserved. Nor is it likely that we should read *ὅσα εὑρίσκ(ει)*, 'all that fetch a price'. *εὑρίσκεται* appears to bear its meaning in Hellenistic Greek, 'is present'. We may translate it then, 'all that is in stock'; and this leads us to the chief question, to what does the whole fragment refer?

Dr. Norsa thought that it contained a list of Desiderata, books which were to be bought by some one who was making a journey to a city where books were for sale, but the mention of duplicate copies of the same dialogue is an objection. Mr. C. H. Oldfather [1] thinks that it contains a list of works to be read in the schools, carelessly copied by a pupil; and he explains *ὅσα εὑρίσκ(εται)*, 'all that are found in the school library'. But the duplicates again create a difficulty. The simplest view is that of Sabbadini, who sees in it a Catalogue. It may have belonged to a bookseller or to a schoolmaster, and thus the duplicate would be accounted for. Mr. Oldfather judges from the number of Egyptian papyri belonging to the second and third centuries A. D., that this was the period of the widest diffusion of letters, a conclusion which is supported by the nature and number of the dialogues mentioned in this fragment.

ii

The list resembles one which is printed in Mitteis and Wilcken's *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, i. 2, no. 155. This belongs to the same era, the beginning of the third century A. D., and comes from Memphis, and the subjects of the books are very similar, being treatises on morals, interspersed with which are treatises on political philosophy. The arrangement seems casual and informal. The strange entries which interrupt the list of books, *[ε]νοικια* and *[Θε]οδα*[2] *κεφαλαια*, which puzzled the editors, are explained by Mr. Lobel thus: a piece of papyrus which contained

[1] *The Greek Literary Texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt*, University of Wisconsin Studies, No. 9, Madison, 1923, pp. 72 sqq.

[2] So the edd.

accounts (ἐνοίκια, 'rent', κεφάλαια, 'sums') had been utilized for making this list, and the entries of the accounts had not been struck out. The editors' ἐν οἰκίᾳ cannot stand.

It is noteworthy that it mentions a copy of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, and that it is the only authority for the existence of Aristotle's Πολιτεία Νεαπολιτ[ῶν which must have been one of his 158 Πολιτεῖαι. The titles of all the works mentioned were known before except one, Κέβης Σωκρατικός, which must be added to the list of Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι.

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III

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI (GRENFELL AND HUNT) VOL. III

Notes on the proposed identification of the Foreign Language in No. 413 with Kanarese.

Dr. Hultzsch's suggestion (*J.R.A.S.* 1904) that the passages in a strange tongue in Papyrus no. 413 may be meant to represent Kanarese, and his proposed decipherment of one sentence, naturally excited much interest among students of Kanarese. Recently Dr. Śāma Śāstri, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, has made further suggestions in the same direction; and the opinion of an Indian scholar so well acquainted both with Ancient Kanarese and with Sanskrit must carry great weight. I have therefore gone carefully and sympathetically through his suggestions, and have compared them with those of Dr. Hultzsch, and with the original Greek. I very much regret to say that the conclusion to which I have

come is that the identifications hitherto suggested are of too dubious a character to justify any assurance that the language is Kanarese. I am compelled to the conclusion that other Indian languages must be explored for a decisive clue to the unknown language. I append the notes on which this conclusion is based.

For the purposes of the present study the foreign passages fall into five groups.

i. *ll. 199–203.*

Here the situation is very clear. Armed women come upon the scene and see a strange man with the Greek woman who has been among them as a captive, and probably also as a priestess. The brief words they utter are obviously intended to express surprise, alarm, indignation, and threatening (see l. 207 f.). If these words are Kanarese, they ought to be easy of recognition. They should express some such ideas as 'Look! A stranger! Help! Shoot him! Slay! Rescue her!' But no one has hitherto been able to identify them. Dr. Śāma Śāstri's suggestion that they are the names of persons does not meet the situation, and no fresh persons appear on the scene in response to the calls.

The word *αλεμακα*, which allays their alarm and anger, is interpreted by Dr. Śāma Śāstri as the equivalent of ಎಲೇ ಮಗ (elē maga), which he renders 'O! a boy!' But surely this Kanarese phrase is not an exclamation of surprise (Oh! a boy!) but a *Vocative* ('O son'). Dr. Grierson's suggestion that the first part of the word may represent the Pālī '*alam*' (= 'Enough! Stop!') is more appropriate. If it be accepted, it is just possible that the last three letters *ακα* may represent the Kanarese ಅಕ್ಕ (akkā) 'sister', by which women often address one another.

The final word *μινει* might suitably mean, 'Let us be off!' 'Let us go home.' If so, I can suggest nothing nearer than ಮನೆಗೆ (manege) which = '[Let us go] home' or 'to the house'. Dr. Śāma Śāstri makes this also the name of a person.

ii. *l. 39.*

Αι αρμινθι. It has been suggested that this is the shout of a people invoking their goddess, like the cry of modern devotees, 'Govinda!' *Αι* may very well be a particle of address or invocation in many languages, as it is commonly in Urdu; but in that case it is more *Sanskritic* than Kanarese. It is not characteristically Dravidian. I know of no goddess whose name is suggested by *Αρμινθι.*

iii. *ll. 58–66.*

These lines contain the sentence which Dr. Hultzsch thinks he has deciphered and found to be Kanarese.

βραθις, uttered by the King and repeated by all, is interpreted by Charition's kinsman as meaning, 'Let us cast lots'. I know of no Kanarese words of similar sound which give this sense. Dr. Śāma Śāstri suggests that it may be either a proper name, or = ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕಿಸು (pratyēkisu). Neither of these seems to me at all probable. ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕಿಸು is a transitive verb meaning, 'to separate [persons or things]', and therefore needs, somewhere in the context, an object named. Dr. Śāma Śāstri, interpreting the following words as proper names, sees in it a reference to caste scruples.

Dr. Hultzsch, noting that *βερη* occurs twice in ll. 61, 62, thinks that it represents the familiar Kanarese word ಬೇರೆ (bēṟĕ), [in Old Kanarese, *bēṟ* or *bēṟu*] which very frequently occurs in couples, like the Hebrew בֵּין (e. g. Gen. i. 4), and this seems to have given him his clue. He thinks *βραθις*, *βραθεις*, *βραδις* represent forms of the verb ಬೇರ್ಪಡಿಸು (bēṟ-āḍisu) which = 'Play separately', or 'Cause to play separately'. This, however, is not quite the same thing as, 'Let us cast lots'. Moreover it is open to other objections. The first vowel of *bēṟĕ* is essentially and always *long*; the second vowel is non-essential and short, unless emphatic. Hence the word would be more correctly represented in Greek by *βηρ(ε)* than by *βερη*. And, moreover, *bēṟ-āḍisu*, although a possible compound of two Kanarese words, is not, so far as I know, in ordinary use in that compound form. No instance of it is given in Kittel's

Dictionary; and being a transitive verb it requires an object, which there is nothing in the context to supply. The form *βερη*, if it represents any Kanarese word at all, would more closely resemble the common adjective ಬರೇ (*barē*), which means, 'bare, simple, unmixed', and might refer in the present case to the wine given neat (see ll. 52–5, 69).

κονζει may very well represent the common Dravidian word ಕೊಂಚ (*konća*) = 'a little'.

πετρεκιω (*bis*) may represent ಪಾತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ (*pātrakke*), the Kanarese dative of a Sanskrit word in common use in Kanarese and meaning 'to a cup'. But the final long *ω*, which in Kanarese would denote interrogation or doubt, is hard to account for.

δαμυν and *δαμυτ* are made by Dr. Hultzsch into ಮಧು (*madhu*), 'wine', by transposing the first two consonants and dropping the final ones; but this is to take undue liberty with the text. And in any case *madhu* is *Sanskrit*, although it is used also in Kanarese.

πακτει and *παξει* are very different from ಹಾಕು (hāku) and ಹಾಕಿಸು (hākisu) with which Dr. Hultzsch identifies them. Although in many cases the Old Kanarese ಪ (*pa*) becomes ಹ (*ha*) in Modern Kanarese, yet *hāku* is not one of the words in which this change has taken place.

κοττως occurs twice. Dr. Hultzsch says that *πεῖν δὸς ταχέως* (l. 66) is given as the Greek for *κοττως ζοπιτ*; but this is by no means certain, as there is no *φησί*. But supposing it be so, *κοττως* does not well represent ಕುಡಿಸು (kuḍisu), 'cause to drink'; for if so, why is the long *ω* used here? This long *ω* is equally an objection to Dr. Śāma Śāstri's suggestion that it may = ಗುಪ್ತ (gupta). The case is not parallel to the equivalence of *Σανδράκοττος* and Chandragupta; and, moreover, a proper name is inappropriate to this context.

ζοπιτ. Dr. Hultzsch's rendering *jhaṭiti* or *jaditi* does not account for the *π*; and after all, *jhaṭiti* (from which I suppose the familiar Urdu *jaldi* is derived), is a *Sanskrit* word, and no proof that the language represented is Kanarese. So that I am unconvinced that Dr. Hultzsch is, as he thinks, 'on firm ground' in his interpretation of this passage.

Neither Dr. Hultzsch nor Dr. Śāma Śāstri can make any

sense out of l. 60. The resemblance of μελλοκοροκη to *mēl-ōgara-kke* (= 'for boiled rice mixed with vegetables or meat') is probably only accidental.

iv. *ll. 68–82.*

In l. 68 the King says ζεισουκορμοσηδε. Dr. Śāma Śāstri renders this by ಹೊಯ್ಸಿಕೊಳ್ ಮೋಸದಿ (hoyyisi-koḷ mōs-adi) = 'Have [the wine] poured out for yourself by cheating'. It may be urged in favour of this that it would harmonize with the following words, in which the Greek Buffoon declines to do so, and with ll. 49–55 which indicate that it was the Buffoon who poured out the wine. But then the causal form would not be required. And, moreover, it is not certain that the remark was addressed to the Buffoon; nor is it at all a natural remark for the King to make, to any one, least of all to a foreigner. Also the equivalence of ζ with *h* lacks parallels; elsewhere it represents a palatal or a sibilant.

On ll. 70–82 Dr. Hultzsch has no suggestion. Dr. Śāma Śāstri, however, has made a brave attempt to find Kanarese equivalents for every word; but I fear not with much success. The following is his rendering of the passage:—

70. *An Indian.* Once for rice-cake (or Bengal grain) and salt curd.
71. *Second Indian.* Once for soup. Why do you ask? Raise up [the cup].
72. *First Indian.* Is it over? Once for white wine and salt curds.
„ *Buffoon (in Greek).* Ah, none of your disgusting ways! Stop! [Drums] Ah, what are you doing?
73. *Second Indian.* There comes courtesy if wine is drunk.
74. *First Indian.* You eat much onion three times a day. One who does not take fruit . . .
75 A. *Buffoon (in the Indian language).* Essence of tamarind water. [Drums.]
75 B–77. *The King.* One shows cooked rice and broth. . . . One who has thrown away soup, and does not eat fish; one who does not take fruit. . . . O Śiva, protect us! [Drums.] . . . Kindly show your love. . . .
78. *The King.* O Umeśvara, are these the things of worldly life? (Or, Is the love of worldly life such?)

79, 80. *Buffoon* (*in Indian language*). (Unintelligible—mostly names of persons.)
81. *The King*. O Malpināyaka, take our Kokobi with you.
82. *All together*. Father! (Or, Sir!—*Appā*).
„ *King*. Oh, it is not wanted; he will eat it in the morning.
„ *All*. Oh Father! Oh Brother!

This seems to me to be too incoherent to be at all a likely rendering. The acceptance of this interpretation would make the scene appear to be a *feast of solid food*. But there is nothing in the Greek to indicate this, and it is scarcely in accord with Indian custom. All that the Play requires is a *drinking bout*, which would very probably be also a semi-religious ritual and connected with the temple of a goddess. I find, therefore, no appropriateness in making the passage a conversation about articles of solid food.

Nevertheless it is possible that a few isolated words may have been correctly deciphered by Dr. Śāma Śāstri; e. g. *ειτου*, l. 72, may = ಆಯಿತು (*āyitu*), 'it is done'; and *τραχου* (*bis*) may represent imperfectly the Sanskrit *drākshā*, 'wine', &c. But until these are shown to form appropriate parts of a complete sentence, their identification lacks the necessary confirmation. It is true that in l. 73 there is such a sentence, *τραχουντερμανα*, which Dr. Śāma Śastri renders ದ್ರಾಕ್ಷೆ ಉಂಡರೆ ಮಾನ (*drākshe uṇḍare māna*), 'There comes courtesy if wine is drunk' (or, 'It is honourable if one drinks wine'). But as in other cases, there are grammatical difficulties. *Uṇḍare* is a *Modern* Kanarese form. And the root *uṇ*, *uṇṇu* does not mean 'to drink', but 'to feed upon', 'to make a meal of' (see Kittel's Dictionary). It is not used of drinking a liquid, except in the case of an infant taking its mother's milk, which is its sole food. Dr. Śāma Śāstri finds the same root in *ουμβα*, l. 82.

v. *ll. 83–87.*

In this remarkable passage we seem to have a chant or chorus, of which the King gives the first line, which is then twice repeated with only slight variations by the company. It sounds rhythmical, and also alliterative. It will probably repay further study.

Every reader has recognized in the opening word some form

of the Sanskrit *pānam*, 'a drink', which is so suitable to the situation. It is also not improbable that the word *amṛita*, 'nectar', employed as a description of wine, might occur in the context. But although αμβρητι occurs three times, there is no certainty that the letters should be separated thus to make this represent a distinct word; the αμ may belong to the previous word. But even if these two words are correctly deciphered, we must remember that they are not peculiar to Kanarese, but are Sanskrit words in common use in many Indian vernaculars.

On a review of the whole subject under discussion I feel that the claim that Kanarese is the language recorded in the papyrus is not proven. The passage needs investigation by those familiar with other West of India forms of speech, e. g. Tulu and Konkani, as well as the Prakits used further north and Pālī.

In closing I will add one suggestion. This papyrus does not appear to have contained the entire text of the Farce. May it not be that it was a record only of the parts which one or two performers had to take in the play, together with so much of the neighbouring parts as would be helpful to give them their clues? If so, it would include the parts of all those who were to speak the foreign words. It strikes me as quite possible, and not unlikely, that the long foreign passages, especially those of the King, were delivered by *native Indians*, who had been brought across the sea to Egypt; and that these parts were written in Greek, either because their own vernacular had not been reduced to writing or because they were illiterate in it. Such Indians as would be likely to be brought across would very likely speak a patois in which words from several languages would be mixed. On the other hand, although the Farce was acted in Egypt, the Greeks referred to in the story may have belonged to one of the Yavana kingdoms of north-west India, parties from which often came into conflict with Hindu kings in the second century (V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, 1st ed., p. 188). In that case the scene would lie on the northern part of the coast, nearer Barygaza, and quite outside the Kanarese area.

Addendum

A letter from Mr. R. Narasimhāchārya, the author of the *Lives of the Kanarese Poets*, who is generally acknowledged to be the foremost authority on Kanarese literature, contains the following remarks on Dr. Hultzsch's proposed reading of lines 61 and 83 of the papyrus:

'With some modification of the original he has produced the sentences, *Bēṟe koncha madhu pātrakke hāki* and *Pānam bēṟ etti kaṭṭi madhuvam bēṟ ettuven*. These sentences no doubt sound like Kannada—mostly like modern colloquial Kannada, and not the old Kannada of the period, namely about the second century A. D. to which the papyri are assigned. We have Kannada inscriptions of the sixth century available for study. But in none of these occur such colloquialisms as *koncha* and *hāki*. The second sentence is, however, pretty good Old Kannada, though its meaning is not quite clear. . . . The words that have been made out are more akin to Kannada than to any other Dravidian language of Southern India. My only objection to this theory is that the language or words used are not sufficiently archaic to warrant the ascription to the period mentioned above.'

This balanced and cautious judgement can hardly be regarded as strengthening Dr. Hultzsch's position.

Finally, Dr. L. D. Barnett has gone into the question in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xii, pp. 13–15, and arrives at a similar result. He concludes: 'What then is the language of these Indians? I confess I do not know. It may be mere gibberish, concocted in a spirit of rollicking farce; and it may equally well be meant for some Indian dialect, either Aryan or Dravidian. But if it is an Indian dialect, it has yet to be interpreted.'

E. P. R.

Bibliography for Menander, pp. 9 sqq.

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It is most interesting to see the rapid improvement in the text of the Menander papyri from the almost unintelligible *editio princeps* of Lefebvre to the admirable *Epitrepontes* of Wilamowitz. The most useful collection of the whole material is that of van Leeuwen.

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Addendum to p. 188.

In *Hermes* lxi. 333, Wellmann made a further interesting suggestion that *Hippocrates* in *Meno* is not the great Hippocrates but his grandson, the son of Thessalus, who, from what little we know about him (Galen, 15. 110), may very well have written *Περὶ φυσῶν*. He apparently thinks Meno gave no account of the great Hippocrates—works clearly attributed to him not being available in the Lyceum library. Granting this, it seems quite possible that *τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ* may have fallen out, and Meno's account of the grandson, being transferred to the beginning of the list, may have deceived even such men as Alexander and Soranus into the belief that it comprises 'what Aristotle thinks about Hippocrates'. E. T. W.

ERRATA IN THE FIRST SERIES

Page 19, three lines from the end of the Greek text, *read* κέντρα τεῖδ'
29, line 11, *for* Olivi i *read* Olivieri
36, last line but one of the text, *for* first *read* second
48, last line but one of text, *for* Macedonia *read* Thessaly
50, seven lines from foot of text, *for* Itana *read* Itanos
54, line 7, *for* ὀρόμεναι *read* ὀρόμεναι·
55, note 3, *for* 679 B *read* 697 C.
56, last line of text, *for* A. D. 100 *read* 100 B. C.
69, line 2, *for* (the Guardians) *read* (the Arbitrants)
70, note 2, line 3, *for* πολλῶν *read* πολλοῦ
92, note 10, *for* μέγαλα *read* μεγάλα
95, note 6, line 2, *for* τούτων καλὴ *read* τούτου νῦν καλὴ
108, last reference in the last line, *for* xxxiv *read* xxxiii
146, last word, *for* whom *read* who

INDEX

Abas?, 184.
Acarnanians, the, 190.
Acharnae, 206.
Acraephia, 38, 39, 205.
'Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs', the, 111, n. 2.
Aeschines of Sicyon, 65, 66.
Aeschines Socraticus, *Alcibiades* of, 103–4.
Aetolia, 43, 44, 45.
Aetolians, the, 44, 50, 92, 182.
Africanus, Julius, 71.
Agesilaus, 50–1, 207.
Agis, 50.
Agrionia, the, 205.
Ἀγῶνες, 35 sqq., 205.
Ἀγωνισμός, 35 sqq.
Aias?, 184.
Aidin Inscription, the, 147–8, 170.
Αἰέλουρος, 80.
Αἱ Ὀλεῖαι, 205.
Ajax Fragment, the, 151, 153, 175–6.
Alalcomenae, temple of Athena at, 204.
Alcaeus, 46.
Alcamenes of Abydos, 184.
Alcibiades, 4, 94, 103, 104.
Alcidamas, 37–8, 118, 119, 210.
Alcinoe, 44.
Alcmene's grave, 206.
Alexander (emissary of Demetrius), 67.
Alexander Aetolus, 41, n. 3, 43, n. 1, 44.
Alexander Philalethes, 185, 186.
Alexander Polyhistor, 110.
Alexander the Great, 52, 70, 71, 82, 113, 117, 119.
Alexander the Great, Dialogue on the Divinity of, 106 sqq., 114.
Alexandria, 6, 38, 61, 123, 188.
Alyattes, 105.
Alypius, 154–5, 168.
Amasis, 80, 81.
Aminias of Thebes, 39.
Ammon, 109, 195.
Amphiaraus, 194, 203.
Ἀμφιαράϊα, the, 39.
Amphicles of Rhenea, 61.
Amphiclus of Chios, 39.
Amphidamas, 36.
Amyntas, 67.
Ἀνατιθεμένη of Menander, the, 24.
Anaxandridas, 65, 66.
Anaximenes of Lampsacus, 115, 116, 119, n. 4.
Andronicus, 86.
Andros, the Woman from, of Menander, 14, 24.
Anonymous Diatribe, the, 93–4.
Anonymus Londinensis, 183 sqq.
Anonymus Parisinus, 187, 188.
Anthologies, 63–4.
Antigonus I, 67.
Antigonus Gonatas, 48.
Ἀντιόχεια, the, 38.
Antiochus II of Syria, 127.
Antipater, 19, 20, 71, 107 sqq., 112–14.
Antipater of Thessalonica, 43.
Antipater, the 'Etesian', 127.
Antiphatas, 49.
Antiphon the Sophist, 95 sqq.
Antisthenes, 94.
Antisthenes the Rhodian, 86.
Anyte, 43.
Aphrodisia, the, 48.
Ἄπιστος of Menander, the, 25.
Apocalypse, the, 139.
Apollo, oracular seats of, 203.
Apollonii, the, of Delos, 41–2, 79.
Apollonius (son of Ptolemy and Aphrodisia), 48.
Apollonius Rhodius, 4.
Apollonius the dioecetes, 125 sqq.
Apparition of Menander, the, 25.
Archemorus, 3.
Archytas of Tarentum, 116, 154, n. 1.
Ἀρεταλόγοι, 42–3.
Arginusae, the battle of, 120.
Argonauts, Voyage of the, 195.
Ariaetus, 81.
Aristanax (Aristoanax), 54.
Aristarchus, 54.
Aristides, Aelius, 103–4, 121, n. 1.
Aristides, Quintilianus, 146, 155, 168, 178, n. 2, 179, n. 1.

Aristodama, 39, 44.
Aristomache, 44.
Ariston of Phocaea, 40.
Aristonous, 204.
Aristophanes, 23, 24, 26, 212.
Aristotle, 62, 86, 89, 93, 101–3, 105–6, 114–15, 118, 168–9, 171, 173, 182 sqq., 212, 215.
Aristoxenus, 92, 146, 168–9, 171, 179, 180, n. 1, 181, 182.
Arius Didymus, 184.
Arrian, 70, 109, 114.
Arsinoe, 8.
Artabazus, 68–9.
Artaphernes, 79, n. 1, 82.
Artaxerxes III (Ochus), 68, 77, 82.
Artemidorus, 1.
Artemon, 40.
Asclepiades (the physician), 186.
Asclepiades (the poet), 43.
Asclepius, 41, 43, n. 1 and n. 2.
Ἀσκλαπίεια, the Μεγάλα, 38.
Atalanta, 44, 193.
Athenaeus, 2, 20, n. 1, 77, 197.
Athenagoras, 67.
Ἀθηναῖα, the, 38.
Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, the, 36, 105, 106, 215.
Athenian Orator, Reply of an, 119.
Atlantias or Atlantis, the, 195.
Atreus, Treasury of, 209.
Attalus, 53.
Auge, 195–6.
Augustine, St., 101, 109.
Αὐτὸν Πενθῶν of Menander, the, 24.
Αὐτὸν τιμωρούμενος of Menander, the, 24.

Bacchides of Plautus, the, 15, 25.
Bad Temper of Menander, the, 25.
Barygaza, 221.
Beaumarchais, 33.
Begging Priest of Menander, the, 25.
Bellerophon, 192.
Berenice (daughter of Magas), 1.
Berenice (daughter of Philadelphus), 127.
Berlin Musical Fragments, the, 150 sqq.
Bilistiche, 130.
Biography, 99–100.
Boeotia, 202 sqq.
Boeotia, The Woman from, of Menander, 24.
Boeotian School, poetry of the, 198 sqq.
Boreadae, the, 195.
Brennus, 44.
Byzantium, 71, 129.

Cabiri, the, 129, 203.
Cadmea, the, 206.
Cadmeans, the, 207 sqq.
Calchas, 37, 200.
Callicles, 213.
Callimachus, 1 sqq., 40, 45, 61.
Callippus of Cyzicus, 49.
Canary Islands, the, 196, n. 2.
Carthage, The Man from, of Menander, 24.
Cassander, 2, 20, 48, 75, 108, 112.
Catalogue, the Hesiodic, 189 sqq.
Catalogue, the Homeric, 204.
Catullus, *Coma Berenices* of, 1.
Cephisodorus, 40.
Cercidas, 64.
Certamen of Homer and Hesiod, the, 37–8, 118–19.
Chalcis, 36.
Chalicodoma Sicula, 62.
Chandragupta, 218.
Chares, 68–9.
Charitesia, the, 39, 204.
Chilon, the Ephor, 65.
Chiron, the *Precepts of*, 190, 199, 200, n. 2.
Chonouphis, 207.
Christian Hymn from Oxyrhynchus, the, 152, 176–8.
Cicero, 32, 83, 89, n. 1, 104, 106.
Cicero, the *Hortensius* of, 101.
Cleander of Colophon, 39.
Cleisthenes, 66.
Cleobulus, the tyrant, 81
Cleochares, 60.
Cleomenes, 65–6.
Clio, 7–8.
Club of Epic Poets, 40.
Cnossus, 205, 208, 209.
Colotes, 98–9.
Comedy, the New, 20 sqq.
Comedy, the Old, 20, 21.
Congreve, 12, 17, 33.
Copais, Lake, 203, 205, 209.
Corinna, 38, 198, 205.
Corinthian Alphabet, the, 51.
Craterus, 52.
Craterus (son of above), 52.
Crete, 49, 81, 208, 209, 210.
Croesus, 105.

Cynisca, 50.
Cypria, the, 199.
Cypselus, 65.

Damon, 182.
Daochus, 49.
Darius I, 78.
Darius II (Nothus), 71.
Darius III, 70.
Datis, 78–9, 82.
Δεῖπνα of Timachidas, the, 77–8.
Delos, 14, 35, 38, 40, 41, 43, 50, 61, 82.
Delphi, 7, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 54, 60, 149, 150, 204.
Delphic Hymns, the, 60, 149–50, 170–2, 204.
Demades, Trial of, 111–14.
Demeas, 113.
Demetria, the, 61.
Demetrius (a poet), 40.
Demetrius of Delos, 41.
Demetrius of Phalerum, 83, 85, 114, 117.
Demetrius Poliorcetes, 48, 66 sqq., 78.
Demetrius Soter, 48.
Democles, 39.
Demonax, 100.
Demosthenes, 13, 32, 68, 72, 73, 111, 119–20, 121.
Demosthenes, *In Calliclem* of, 213.
Demoteles of Andros, 60.
Dexippus of Cos, 184.
Dialogue, the, 88 sqq.
Diatribe, the, 88 sqq.
Dickens, Charles, 23.
Diderot, 22.
Διδύμεια, the, 38.
Didymus, 119, n. 4.
Δίκη Κλοπῆς, the, 121–2.
Dinarchus, 112 sqq.
Dinomenes (of Sicily), 81.
Dinomenes (of Telos), 81.
Dio Chrysostom, 51.
Diocles, 184.
Diodorus Siculus, 67-9, 112.
Diomedê, 196.
Dionysiac singers, the, 150.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 115, 149, 164, 165, 166.
Dioscurides of Alexandria, 2.
Dioscurides of Tarsus, 39.
Diotimus, 53.
Diseme Mark, the, 156–8.
Drepanum, 7.

Eetion, 40, n. 6, 196.
Egyptian hieroglyphics, 207.
Electra (daughter of Atlas), 196.
Ἐλεφαντηγός, an, 142.
Enceladus, 5.
Ephorus, 75.
Epicurean School, the, 12, 13, 34, 97.
Epicurus, 25, 85, 97–8, 135.
Epidaurus, 43, n. 2, 49, 50, 204.
Ἐπίδειξις, 35 sqq.
Epirus, 65.
Ἐπιτρέποντες of Menander, the, 14, 17, 28 sqq.
Ἐπιφάνεια of Sarapis, 79.
Ἐπιφάνειαι of Athena, 78, 79, n. 2.
Erasistratus, 186.
Eratosthenes, 75, n. 1.
Eratoxenus of Athens, 39.
Ergophilus, 50.
Erythrae, 45.
Eteocles, 50.
Euagoras, 37, 84.
Eubulides of Athens, 50.
Eudemus, Λινδιακὸς Λόγος of, 80.
Eudemus (pupil of Aristotle), 86.
Eudemus (the Dialogue), 212.
Eugnotus, 48, 53.
Εὐμένεια, the, 38.
Euphrates, 70.
Euripides, 15, 19, 21, 24, 43, 57, 85, 116–17, 149, 164, 199, n. 3, 210, 212.
Europa, 7, 194.
Euryphon of Cnidus, 184.
Eusebius, 72, 74, 110.
Euthycartides of Naxos, 50.
Ezechiel, 57, 110.

Farquhar, 33.
Favorinus, 51.
Fayum, the, 126.
Flatterer of Menander, the, 25.
Fortunatae Insulae, 196.

Galatae, the, 44, 54.
Galen, 183 sqq.
Gaudentius, 155.
Gibbon, 34, 145.
Glauce of Chios, 43.
Glaucon, 130.
Gorgias of Plato, the, 213.
Gorgosthenes, 77.
Gorgus, 41.
Greek Testament, the, 42.

Hadrian, 74, 146.
Haemus, Mount, 210.
Hagesipolis I, 49.
Hagesitimus, 77.
Hagias, 40.
Haliartus, 206.
Harpies, the, 194–5.
Hathor, 129.
Hedyle, 43.
Hegesias, 79–80, 83.
Heiress of Menander, the, 25.
Helen, The Wooing of, 191.
Helicon, Mount, 7, 38, 189, 190, 204, 208.
Hellanicus, 210.
Hellenica Oxyrhynchia, the, 75.
Ἡμίκυνες, the, 195.
Hephaestus, Hymn to, 46.
Heracleodorus, 184.
Heraclides Lembus, 99–100.
Heraclides Ponticus, 89, n. 1, 100, 105–6, 210.
Heraclitus, 98–9, 201.
Heraea, the, 3.
Herculaneum, 135.
Hermippus, 100.
Hermogenes, 96–7.
Hermopolis, 144.
Herodes, 48, 56.
Herodes of Priene, 40.
Herodicus of Cnidus, 184.
Herodicus of Selymbria, 184.
Herodotus, 66, 80, 130, 207.
Herodotus (a physician), 187.
Herophilus, 186.
Hesiod, 36–8, 189 sqq.
— *Astronomy* of, 195, 200, n. 2.
— *Catalogue* of, 189 sqq.
— *Eoiai* of, 189, 190, 197.
— *Shield* of, 189.
— *Theogony* of, 7, 189 sqq.
— *Works and Days* of, 36, 189 sqq.
Hesiodic School, the, 189, 190, 197, 198 sqq.
Hesychius, 85.
Hiero I, 93.
Hiero II, 82.
Hierobulus, 77.
Hieronymus (pupil of Aristotle), 86–7.
Hieronymus (son of Simylinus), 86–7.
Hippias of Athens, 65.
Hippias of Elis, 92, 182.
Hippocrates, 98, 184–6.
Hippon of Croton, 184.
Hipponax, 57.
Historical Tragedy, 110.
Holberg, 33.
Homer, 36, 38, 57, 212 sqq.
Homeric Catalogue, the, 204.
Hyginus, 191.

Ἰακυνθοτρόφια, the, 38.
Iamblichus, *Protreptic* of, 102.
Iasion, 40, n. 6, 196.
Ibycus, 57.
Ilias Parva, the, 38.
Imbrians of Menander, the, 25.
Imbros, Gone to, of Menander, the, 25.
Inspired of Menander, the, 25.
Instrumental Fragment, First, 151, 174–5.
Instrumental Fragment, Second, 151, 176.
Ion of Samos, 49.
Ionian Epic, 198.
Isis, 43, 129, 204.
Ismaelos, 129.
Isocrates, 36, 83, 84, 118, 182.
Issus, battle of, 70–1.
Isthmian Games, the, 3, 45.
Isyllus of Epidaurus, 41, 43, n. 1, 204.

Jewish Psalmody, 178.
Jonson, Ben, 33.
Josephus, 2, 72.
Juba, 196, n. 2.

Καδμῆια γράμματα, 205, n. 5, 207.
Kanarese, 215 sqq.
Kannada, 222.
Κατουδαῖοι, the, 195, 197.
Κέβης Σωκρατικός, the, 215.
Κήυκος Γάμος, the, 197.
Kircher, Athanasius, 147.
Κλάρια, the, 38.
Κοινή, the, 42, 131, 137 sqq.
Κωνειαζόμεναι of Menander, the, 25.
Konkani, 221.
Κόρεια, the, 38.

Lachares, 74–5.
Lacius, 81.
Laertius, Diogenes, 80, 83, 85, 86, 97, 100, 103, 106.
Laomedon, 196.
Lebadaea, 203, 206.
Λεῖμμα, the, 159–60.
Leosthenes, 117.

Lesches, 38.
Leucas, The Woman from, of Menander, 24.
Leuctra, 72.
Limenius, 60, 150, 171–2.
Lindus, temple of Athena at, 76 sqq., 204, 207.
Lindus (the hero), 76.
Local Legends, 40.
Lucian, *Anacharsis* of, 212.
Lucian, *Demosthenis Encomium* of, 110, 111, 114, n. 2.
Lycophron, 1, 110, 194.
Lynceus, 64.
Lysander, 49, 120.
Lysias, *Epitaphius* of, 36.
Lysimachus, 48.
Lysippus, 52.

Macedonia, state-records of, 114.
Macedonian Dialogue, the, 106 sqq., 114.
Madeira, 196, n. 2.
Magas, 1.
Magi, the, 71.
Maiistas, 35, 41–2.
Manetho, 72.
Marcello, Benedetto, 147.
Marcus Aurelius, 123.
Mardonius, 203.
Masistas, 42.
Masistes, 42.
Massagetae, the, 195.
Maximus, Vibius, 122.
May Day Festivals, 16.
Μεγάλα Ἔργα, the, 200, n. 2.
Μείουρον μέτρον, the, 46.
Melampodia, the, 200.
Melampus, 190, 200, 203, n. 2.
Meleager, 44, 192.
Meleager (of Gadara), 43, 47.
Μελέτη, the, 90–1, 117 sqq.
Melicertes-Palaemon, 3, 209.
Memmius, Lucius, 143.
Memphis, 126, 129, 142, 207.
Menander, 9 sqq., 64, 83, 212 sqq.
Menecrates ὁ Ζεύς, 184.
Menestheus, the sons of, 48.
Meno, 183 sqq.
Mentor the Rhodian, 77.
Mesê, the, 167.
Mesomedes, 146, 152, 164.
Methodic School, the, 186 sqq.
Mimnermus, 208.
Minos, 208.
Mint, the Alexandrian, 128.
Minyae, the, 208 sqq.
'Minyan', 203, n. 2.
Minyas of Egypt, 184.
Μισούμενος of Menander, the, 15, 24.
Modes, the Greek, 167 sqq.
Moero, 43.
Molière, 33.
Mopsus, 37, 200.
Moschion, 110.
Μουσεῖα, the, 38, 204.
Mummers' Play, 15.
Musaeus, 210.
Musaeus of Ephesus, 196, n. 1.
Muses, the, 7, 8, 37, 200, 207, 208.
Music, On the Art of, treatise, 91 sqq., 181–2.
Mycenae, 206.
Myrinus of Amisus, 40.
Myron, 79.
Mys of Europus, 203.

Nabis, 49.
Nature, Law of, 95–6.
Nemean Games, the, 3.
New Testament, the, 137 sqq.
Nicaea (daughter of Antipater), 113.
Nicander (son of Anaxagoras), 39.
Nicander (son of Damaeus), 39, 41.
Nicocles, 37.
Nietzsche, 138.
Νικηφόρια, the, 38.
Nonnus, 62.
Nossis, 43.

Octavia, the, 110.
Oedipodeia, the, 198.
Olympias, 107 sqq.
Olympic Victors, list of, 75.
Olympiodorus of Athens, 48.
Olynthus, The Woman from, of Menander, 14, 24.
Orchomenus, 39, 202, 204, 205, 206, 209.
Orestes Fragment, the, 148–9, 168–9.
Origen, 74.
Ornithomanteia, the, 200, n. 2.
Oropus, 39, 203.
Orpheus, 210.
Ovid, *Fasti* of, 8.
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* of, 5.

Paean, the Berlin, 150–1, 172–4.
Pālī, 221.

Παμβοιώτια, the, 205.
Pammenes, 69.
Panaetius, 86, 103.
Panathenaea, the, 3.
Pantalces, 55–6, 57–8.
Paraphrases, 109.
Parmenio, 70, 71.
Paronymous Words, 197.
Parthenis, 43.
Paul, St., 9.
Pausanias, 50, 75, 81, 189, 204.
Pausanias (King of Sparta), 49.
Pelusium, 3, 128, 129.
Perdiccas, 112–13.
Pergamum, 38, 196, n. 1.
Periander, 105–6.
Περικειρομένη of Menander, the, 18, 24.
Perinthus, 71.
Perinthus, The Woman from, of Menander, 14, 24.
Peripatetics, the, 86, 89.
Petron of Aegina, 184.
Phaenias, 20, n. 1.
Phalaris, 81.
Phanion of Menander, the, 25.
Phasilas of Tenedos, 184.
Philadelphia, 126, 129.
Philaenis, 43.
Philetaerus, 54, n. 1.
Φιλεταιρία, Discourse on the subject of, 117–18.
Philicus, 61–2, 110.
Philip II of Macedon, 70, 71, 73, 119.
Philip V of Macedon, 20, n. 1, 50, 76, 82.
Philip (the physician), 70.
Philistion, 184.
Philochorus, 73.
Philodemus, 92, 182, 197.
Philolaus of Croton, 184, 185.
Philosophical Controversy, the, 98–9.
Philostratus, *Nero* of, 111.
Philoxenus, the admiral, 54.
Phineus, 195.
Phlegon of Tralles, 73–5.
Phoenix, 63–4.
Photius, 74, 75, 112.
Pindar, 35, 36, 57, 146, 205.
Pisistratus Dialogue, the, 104 sqq.
Plato, 13, 19, 32, 36, 92, 93, 96, 168–9, 171, 182, 184, 212–13.
Plautus, 9, 11, 24, 25, 33.
Plutarch, 38, 45, 51, 52, 66, 93, 98, 105, 109, 111, 112, 197, 201, 206.
Poetesses, Greek, 43 sqq,
[Pol?]itas, 39.
Pollis, 6.
Polyaenus, 71.
Polybius, 2, 49, 66, 80, 92, n. 6.
Polybus, 184.
Polyperchon, 108, 114.
Polyzalus, 80.
Porphyrius, 37.
Ποσείδεια, the, 38.
Posidippus (comic poet), 32, 64.
Posidippus (epigrammatist), 64.
Posidonius, 86.
Praetexta, the Roman, 110.
Prakits, 221.
Praxagoras, 184.
Priestess of Menander, the, 25–6.
Problems, the Aristotelian, 167, 168, n. 5.
Prodicus, 185.
Πρόγαμοι (? Προγάμια) of Menander, the, 25.
Πτώια, the, 38, 39, 205.
Ptolemaeia, the, 3, 38.
Ptolemaic Empire, the, 128.
Ptolemy I (Soter), 9, 13, 67, 78, 82.
Ptolemy II (Philadelphus), 2, 82.
Ptolemy III (Euergetes I), 2.
Ptolemy IV (Philopator), 2, 98.
Ptolemy Euergetes II, 48.
Ptolemy, a, 48.
Ptolemy, Encomium of a reigning, 122–3.
Πυγμαῖοι, the, 195, 197.
Pyrrhus, 82.
Pythagoras, 102, 201.
Pythagorean School, Ἠθικαὶ διαλέξεις of the, 116.
Pythagoreans, the, 182.

Quintilian, 32, 115, 117.
Quintus Curtius, 70.

Raphia, battle of, 2.
Ῥαπιζομένη of Menander, the, 24.
Recruiting Officer of Menander, the, 25.
Red Sea, the, 142.
Religion, Fragment on the subject of, 97.
Rhetoric, Art of, treatises on, 114–117.
Rhetorical exercises, 117 sqq.

Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, the, 114 sqq.
Rhodes, 4, 14, 42, 49, 66 sqq., 76 sqq., 83 sqq.
Rhodes, a schoolmaster of, 55, 58–9.
Ῥωμαῖα, the, 39.
Rustic of Menander, the, 25.

Saistes, 42.
Samos, The Woman from, of Menander, 14, 16, 28.
Σανδράκοττος, 218.
Sanskrit, 215 sqq.
Sarapeum (Delos), 41.
Sarapis, 35, 41, 43.
Satyrus, 21, 89, 100.
Scales, the Greek, 167 sqq., 180–1.
Scythians, the, 195.
Sea Captain of Menander, the, 25.
Sententiarum, Florilegia, 99.
Serapeum (Memphis), 129, 141–2.
Shakespeare, 23, 33.
Sheridan, 33.
Sicilus, Epitaph of, 147.
Sicyon, The Man from, of Menander, 24.
Simalus, 50.
Simias of Rhodes, 61, 195.
Simonides, Sayings of, 93.
Slanderer of Menander, the, 25.
Socrates, 94, 98–9, 103–4, 213.
Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι, the, 215.
Solon, 104–5.
Somoelis, 129.
Soranus, 187, 188.
Sosibius (ὁ λυτικός), 2.
Sosibius (of Tarentum), 2.
Sosibius (ὁ ψευδεπίτροπος), 2.
Sosibius, Victory of, 1 sqq.
Sosicrates, 86.
Σωτήρια, the, 38.
Stephanus of Byzantium, 45, 74.
Στιγμή, the, 160 sqq.
Stobaeus, 6, 101, 102, 118.
Stoics, the, 12, 34, 89, 184.
Strabo, 45, 79, 204, 205, 208, 209.
Suidas, 14, n. 1, 109.
Συναριστῶσαι of Menander, the, 25.
Συνερῶσα of Menander, the, 25.
Συνέφηβοι of Menander, the, 25.
Superstitious Man of Menander, the, 25.
Synodus Artificum, the, 60.
Syriscus, 79, n. 2.

Taenarum, 117.
Tauric Chersonnese, the, 79, n. 2.
Tauropolia, the, 17.
Taygetus, Mount, 209.
Teisulus, 76.
Telchines, the, 4, 80, 81.
Telemnastus, 49.
Temples, poets connected with, 41.
Tenerus, 203.
Terence, 9, 11, 24, 33.
Terpander, Hymn to Zeus of, 157, n. 1.
Tetrachoritae, the, 71.
Thais of Menander, the, 25.
Thales, 201.
Thebais, the, 198.
Thebes, 19, 70, 72, 202, 203, 206, 210.
Themison (a physician), 187.
Themison (Cyprian king), 101.
Themistocles, 103, 104, 110.
Theocritus, 1, 44, 123.
Theodectes, 83–5.
Theon, 1.
Theophrastus, 2, 83, 115.
Theopompus, 12, n. 1, 71, 84, 85.
Theopompus, an unknown, 84.
Theotimus, 80.
Thespiae, 38, 189.
Thessalus, 187.
Thessaly, 55, 203.
Thessaly, The Woman from, of Menander, 24.
Theugenes of Icos, 6.
Theugenes of Thasos, 48.
Thrace, 208 sqq.
Thrasybulus of Miletus, 105.
Thrasymachus of Sardis, 184.
Thucydides, 36, 43, 199, 203.
Timāchidas, 76 sqq., 83, 85, 86.
Timotheus, 41, 43, n. 1, 154, 173.
Timotheus of Metapontum, 184.
Tiresias, 200, 203.
Tiryns, 206.
Tithraustes, 69.
Tlos, 86.
Tobias the Ammonite, 127.
Tragic Pleiad, the, 61, 110.
Transjordania, 127.
Treasure of Menander, the, 25.
Triseme Mark, the, 156–8.
Troas, 196.
Trophonius, 199, 203, 206.
Trophonius of Menander, the, 25.
Tulu, 221.

Twice Deceived of Menander, the, 25.
Tydeus, 44.
Tzetzes, 194.

Ὑπερβόρεοι, the, 195.

Vanbrugh, 33.

Widow of Menander, the, 25.
Woman-hater of Menander, the, 25.
Wycherley, 12.

Xanthippus, 47–8.
Xenophanes, 201.
Xenophon, 14, n. 2, 49, 51, n. 1, 212.

Year-Baby, the Divine, 15, 21.

Zeno of Rhodes, 66, 80.
Zenon Papyri, the, 125 sqq.
Zeus Casius, 3.

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